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EDITORIAL

As the new academic year opens, it looks as if the war in Europe would be over before many weeks. Reconversion, readjustment, and all that goes with such terms will no doubt be the order of the day. Never have educators faced issues such as are confronting us now. The Army thinks it has revolutionized the regular patterns of college teaching. Many think the experiences the men have had while away have been so exciting that the tame classroom will not appeal to them when they return. Others think that the Army has so demonstrated the need of a college education that they will rush for it when they get back. Some think that the wartime emphasis on science and mathematics has been such that we will never allow youths to pass through the halls of learning again without a thorough knowledge of these tools. Others think we will withdraw to a few good books and there find in the truth of the centuries that which will guide us now. Some big advertisers are trying still to get us to keep America "just like they left it" for the boys when they return. No doubt many of the boys and their parents as well are thinking of the time when they will be home and things will be "back to normal."

It is doubtful that we will be able to point to many gains which have been made in education during the war. The educator will

be asked to point to one single technique which he has developed out of the war. In the field of adult education, the greatest opportunity was perhaps presented. Yet, with all the civilian defense activity, it would be difficult to show that anything significant was accomplished. In fact, it would be hard to prove that enough was accomplished to justify all the shoe leather which was worn out by well-meaning, but frustrated and misguided, people.

In the area of community organization, we have accomplished nothing of any significance. We have not yet learned how to get below the level of verbalization in coordinating councils, and other such programming to get to where the people live. Any one working with groups of community leaders soon becomes impressed with the fact that a few individuals within the community attend endless rounds of meetings and conferences and little happens below that level. We have not yet learned how to develop an indigenous leadership among people.

In the field of youth interests, the same thing is true. Delinquency is on the increase. We have developed youth services, and then coordinating councils to integrate them and coordinators to coordinate the coordinators, and again the same thing happens—nothing for those who need it most. Young gang members fight gun battles, and police are killed, and no technique is yet perfected by which young people's needs are met.

Educational institutions have not yet learned to look at communities and build programs out of their needs. This is particularly reflected in the fact that the minorities which have moved about in the country are undergoing all the disorganization which they have always undergone. The difference is that the immigrants who came here in mass migrations were largely Catholic in background and sent their children to parochial schools and the church controlled them. In these present migrations within the country, the people patronize the public schools and we know nothing about how to deal with them.

The same is true of meeting prejudices with regard to these

groups. In the last war, Negroes were pulled into Northern industries because of the labor shortage. Some towns tried to send them back after the war, but most of them stayed. During the days of the dust-bowl migrations, the classic way of treating these people again was to send them back to the place from whence they came. No doubt the same will be true this time. The only difference is that they refuse to go. We will have to do what we have done before and let them go through the disorganization which comes from changed environment, unless we develop programs from here on out. We certainly have not developed them to this point in spite of the need growing out of the tremendous shift in population during the war effort.

It has been a truism that the changes which have come in education have come as a result of changes in social life which forced the educator to change his procedures rather than that the school has led the social process. In this instance again we have learned little. Must society depend on blind forces of change forever?

DAN W. DODSON

EDUCATION OF POSTWAR AMERICANS

George Stefansky

The sociological concept of education on which this article is based is this: We call education any method that serves the process of promoting individual growth. Since individual growth in the majority of cases takes place against a social background, we may well say that education primarily serves to make the individual who is asocial by his nature eventually function in the particular type of his social setting.

Education is one of the oldest concerns of mankind. Man's desire for education, that is, for acquiring and passing on knowledge, can be traced back to the oldest sources of religion and philosophy (which, of course, was a kind of religion too). Even our chief instrument and symbol of education, the school, originated in a sense from religion or rather from organized religion, namely, from the church. The Christian church was the first to recognize the mighty power of education, and to establish, for reasons of her own policy, regimented education. The monastery schools were, indeed, model schools as far as organization and operation were concerned. Unfortunately, however, they survived as models far beyond the time in which they had been useful. In fact, they survived in their basic philosophy almost up to the beginning of this century. That does not mean that educational methods and materials did not change. They changed, naturally. But the system of moral, social, and cultural values that the church had attached to her idea of school and through school to life remained unchanged.

Until very recently, nobody would have questioned the function of the school as the place where the child or the adolescent was taught to develop into an exceptionally good, and sociable individual, interested only in constructive work. And they were taught as though the grown-up world actually consisted of individuals of the highest perfection. After they had grown up themselves, they had

to accept the painful rift between the ideal, that is the theological, pattern of life and bare reality. Not even the French Revolution, which sagaciously sensed and with some success fought the preponderance of theology in European culture, realized that it was not our values which were wrong, but rather the measuring rod in education through which we have arrived at them.

Education undoubtedly will be profoundly affected by the changes the wars and revolutions of this century will have brought about. It will probably shift from its theological basis to a reality basis. This process has been in the making since the last third of the nineteenth century, if not even longer. The chief impulses did not come from the pedagogues of the nineteenth century, such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, etc., but from other directions. The strongest push obviously came from medicine, especially from the new psychology, the psychology of the unconscious, which irresistibly swept away the whole glory of our moral concepts. Another came from a science which was still new some forty years ago, from sociology. Through sociology most of our social institutions and relations at last found their rational interpretation. I would also believe that the philosophy of relativism, which is gaining ever more ground, and now spans from mathematical physics to history and philology, has greatly reduced our belief in absolute values. The best example of it in the English-speaking world seems to me Bertrand Russell, and it certainly was not a mere incident that some three or four years ago the conservative school authorities in New York fought so bitterly yet vainly against him.

Now, what will education be like after the shift from its theological to a reality basis? Can we answer this question in a few words? I think we can. It is pretty safe to say that education will cease to be a "moral instrument" and become a social force. The highest goal of education then will be to make the individual successfully function within his society irrespective of any scale of values. The totalitarian states were the first to discover and to use

education as a social force, and we know how much of their political and military success was due to their philosophy of education. Democracy probably will have to follow the principles of this philosophy, though it will have to fill the philosophy with a constructive content.

The first step in rebuilding the educational program in our future democracy will, according to one school of thought, consist in making the child acquainted with the modern industrial reality in which he is destined to live for the rest of his life. In the following I quote from one of the most exciting readings I came across lately,¹ "Although our civilization became increasingly one of industrial cities during the 19th century, our social forms remained those of a rural society supporting and surrounding trading towns. . . . We actually tried to shut out the industrial reality from our social lives. It appeared to us as . . . something which must be kept rigorously away from our real values. That so many city children have never seen a cow is generally regarded as a scandal—and rightly so. But that a great many more . . . have never been inside a factory should have been even more astounding. Actually, all of us accepted it as the most natural thing in the world, precisely because the industrial system was not part of the social order in which we lived."

It seems, however, that the industrial system slowly is becoming part of our social order. Totalitarian states again are ahead of our democracy. Professor Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, recently published an article² in which he pointed to an interesting experiment he made in 1925. He drew up a list of forty-five occupations and asked senior-high-school students in different parts of this country to rate them from the point of view of their standing in the community. The same questionnaire was circulated among Russian schoolboys in different districts of Russia. In the

¹ Peter Drucker, *The Future of Industrial Man* (New York: The John Day Company, 1942), pp. 41-42.

² George S. Counts published an article in *Religion and the World Order* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944). A series of addresses and discussions ed. by Frederick Johnson.

Russian rankings the three occupations that were rated highest were: aviator, civil engineer, and machinist, in that order, each of which was rated low by the American students. This was, of course, almost twenty years ago. Much may have changed in the meantime, even before this war.

An important place in the school curriculum of the postwar era will probably be occupied by instruction in political and social subjects closely related to daily events. That will have to be done not only on a nationwide, but world-wide basis. After such instruction, political and social propaganda will not reach the individual unprepared. Moreover, the man who has passed only the lower grades of schooling will be to a certain extent independent in his political and social views, immune against any opinion that might not have been originally his own. To be sure, a difficulty that is not to be underestimated might arise here. The school itself might be used as an instrument of political and social propaganda by the government in power. Various suggestions have been made on this point. The International Education Assembly which recently met in Maryland, and in which thirty-two allied and associated nations were represented, recommended "an international office of education," which might serve as a regulating and perhaps even as a controlling instance. Professor Lindeman has made a similar suggestion in Section 5 of his "Minimum Requirements for Peace."

Another problem of the utmost importance might be the question of teaching history. History always has been a means of imbuing youth with nationalistic ideas. Nationalistic ideas may or may not be all right. At any rate, there always is just one little step from sound nationalism to national egocentrism (to use a word Professor MacIver, the sociologist of Columbia University, coined in his newest book).⁸ We are today and probably will be for some time to come in a growing stream of nationalism. Any war in-

⁸ R. M. MacIver, *Towards an Abiding Peace* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943).

creases nationalism. So there is little hope that something may be done to reform teaching of history in the immediate future. If reforms were taken they probably would lie in the direction of replacing nationalistic history by teaching world history and by putting more emphasis on teaching the history of culture, which up to now has been almost completely neglected in schools. Here in this country, teachers of history are speaking of reforms in the opposite sense, increasing and strengthening nationalistic tendencies among the growing generations. It was like that all over Europe before this war broke out. We must not forget that fascism sprang from a nationalistic philosophy of history: in Germany from Heinrich Treitschke, in Italy from Vilfredo Pareto, in France from Georges Sorrel, etc. In order to parry the threatening fascism the so-called democratic nations rushed into a nationalistic teaching of history as one of their defense measures. They locked themselves up from each other psychologically. It was a kind of psychological autonomy that resembled and implied all the potential dangers of the prewar economic autonomy.

There are, of course, many other points that we should discuss, such as whether or to what extent we should continue teaching in the humanities, how we should organize the studies of languages, the question of the religious education which for instance was required in most of the European schools before the war, the many problems of the preschool education of children, the reorganization of the European (not only German) schools, the question of international exchange of students, and so on. In all these problems we certainly will have to arrive at a decision when the war is won.

What About the Quantitative Development?

May I first summarize some data from a book by Paul T. David.⁴ There has been a steady increase in the school attendance of boys and girls between 14 and 20 years in the last thirty years. In the younger age groups the school attendance has evidently increased

⁴Paul T. David, *Post War Youth Employment* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1943)

on the ground of the school laws that were passed in most of the States during the last fifty years. However, it is interesting that 10 per cent more of the boys between 18-20, and 7 per cent more of the girls between 18-20 continued their school education in 1940 as compared to 1910. In the years immediately prior to the present war, approximately half of all oncoming youth were remaining in high school until graduation, and most other youth were attending high school for one or more years. Thirty per cent of the white men inducted into the army in this war were high-school graduates compared to only 4 per cent in the last World War, while on the other hand only 31 per cent of all inducted white men in this war had just grade school or no schooling compared to 79 per cent in the last World War. In general, we may well say that, speaking in figures of population and grades of education, there is an increasing demand for educational growth in America. And yet, we must not overrate the favorable showing of this situation. The Selective Service Bulletin, May 1944, revealed the surprising fact that the number of the educationally deficient registrants totaled 240,000 up to that date. That is quite a considerable number if we take into account that the total of American casualties in this war, before the invasion had started, amounted to exactly 201,454, that is, to less than the number of illiterates or almost illiterates among the military age groups.

We have thus far spoken of the long-range problems in American postwar education. These problems, however, do not include the educational emergency that will confront us in the period right after the war. This emergency will be a kind of new experience in education. For it will not be exactly education that the millions of returning young men and women will expect to be offered after their coming home, but re-education. That is something very different. Education essentially implies growth, re-education implies adjustment. And it will be not an adjustment planned for single individuals, but a new type of adjustment, mass adjustment. It sounds fantastic. It has been figured out that approximately ten

million young men and women alone will be demobilized from the armed forces who will need and seek retraining. Perhaps fifteen to twenty million people in the manufacturing and mechanical industries will shift to other occupations due to the change in the labor market after the war. The great advance of technology after the war will cause a lessened demand for labor in the production and distribution of material goods, and consequently large numbers of people will have to find employment elsewhere. These and certainly many more occupational shifts and changes and simultaneously educational needs will evolve from the early post-war period.

Anticipating this situation, the Government, the legislatures of the States, and educational experts are preparing to meet the coming needs. It probably will be a relatively short-lived expansion of the education market, but the expansion will be in full force from the very beginning. In order to keep control over this movement when it sets in, planning in advance is necessary. And we are already making plans. The planning is in the areas of administration, operation, and finance, and provides in almost all instances for centralizing bodies. The centralization seems to me significant beyond the immediate purpose of the plans I think that, as in most of the other fields of our social, economic, and political life after the war, we will also in the realm of education keep to a planned program beyond the emergency period and will not too soon, if at all, return to the *laissez faire* of our liberal education of the past. What, in a sociological sense, is most interesting in the plans and provisions that are being made for postwar education in America is the fact that they definitely constitute a big step toward socializing education, giving for the first time in American history the lower income classes a chance to compete eventually in work from which they have been excluded in the past.

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RECENT TRENDS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA

Chao Pu-hsia

What Is Adult Education?

If the writer is justified in stating that theoretically no two persons can agree on a definition for education as a whole, then he can state emphatically that the same lack of agreement holds concerning the meaning of adult education. Therefore, what the writer is going to say may not represent the unanimous opinion of the adult educators in his homeland and may appear entirely strange to those in the country he is visiting. This will be condoned, however, as long as he remains consistent in his treatment.

Adult education as a social movement.—Adult education as a social movement is not meant in the mere sense that its agencies, like the traditional schools, are social or socializing institutions, but is meant in the sense that adult-education movement, at least in China, is or should be identical to a movement for social reform. The best illustration is the Chinese Rural Reconstruction Movement, started about 1930. This movement has been recognized as a social movement, because its leaders and trained personnel have worked with the masses in the task of *direct* social reform. At the same time, however, if it is looked on as guidance and teaching on the part of the leaders and personnel, and as learning on the part of the masses, it is also clearly adult education. Direct social reform and education are but two phases of the same thing. Technically speaking, the series of direct social-reform activities constitute the curriculum, and "education" the method. This is inevitable and highly desirable, because the education of those who bear the direct responsibility of the present society should coincide with their real life situations. There is no better way of applying the theory that "education is life" or "learning by doing."

Adult education as a movement for educational reform. — If we should maneuver ourselves into a position high enough to look at that huge mass of educational practices represented by such designations as adult education, social education, mass education, people's education, and so on, in Russia, China, Japan, Germany, Italy, as well as in the United States, England, and Denmark, and examine them for a period of, say, 150 years,¹ we would find that adult education has evolved out of the failure of the traditional school systems to meet all the educational needs of the people. The more various programs of adult education have come into being, the more they have constituted a challenge to traditional school systems. Metaphorically, the multifarious adult-education agencies are at present but a band of neglected stepchildren, agitating, consciously or unconsciously, among other things, for setting the educational home in order. When order is established, or, speaking more accurately, when much progress is made in that direction, the organization and "strategy" of adult education may not be what it is today.

Adult education as a type of educational practice. — Aside from the foregoing two observations of its nature, adult education is more often taken to mean a particular type of educational practice, referring to that part of the educational program that is barred from the halls of traditional schools. It is difficult to give a short and succinct description of traditional schools. While there are in fact different degrees of being traditional in different schools in different parts of the world, suffice it to say that traditional schools, by and large, are those educational agencies which form what Matthew Arnold called the educational ladder. First of all, they are set up for children and adolescents. Second, they are usually attended by youngsters from well-to-do families, although in some countries almost all children are now able to attend elementary and even sec-

¹ This is very arbitrary. Some authorities have traced adult education in England back to about 160 years ago. Adult education in the United States began shortly after the Revolutionary War. The first Danish folk high school was opened at Rørding in 1811.

ondary schools. Third, they are preparing for a life to be lived in years to come rather than for life on the spot.

On the other hand, adult-education agencies, having increased profusely outside of school walls, are characterized by three elements which are diametrically opposed to the above-mentioned characteristics of conventional schools. First, they take adults, chiefly but not exclusively, for their clientele. Second, they emphasize meeting the educational needs of the underprivileged—those who are socially or economically oppressed and those who need additional education but who must continue to work while learning. Third and last, they are trying to meet the needs of life on the spot.

This is the writer's conception of adult education, a conception widely accepted in China. From an etymological point of view, adult education so interpreted may appear strange to English-speaking peoples. But the writer wishes to emphasize that his approach is not etymological but empirical, that is, based on facts, not the facts of one country but the facts of all countries where adult education has been developed to any extent. In the academic world, many practices are assigned casual names, and, when the practices are developed, it often happens that the names no longer fit etymologically. At that point, while some people may resort to Plocrustean beds, the writer would prefer to challenge the tyranny of words simply by ignoring them. A Professor Smith may have nothing to do with metals in his research, and a Mr. Chow is not likely to be fond of that Chinese dish containing the same name. So readers are requested not to frown when they find some child-care agencies included in adult-education agencies in China. As a matter of fact, the Chinese equivalent of adult education is *she hui chiao yu* (social education) or *ming chung chiao yu* (people's education).

A Résumé of Agencies and Areas of Adult Education

Agencies under control of organs of educational administration

— The organs of educational administration in China are the Min-

istry of Education in the National Government, the departments of education of provincial governments, and the bureaus of education of county and city governments. Figures on the number of adult-education agencies under these controls in 1941-1942, according to the latest available statistics supplied by the Chinese Ministry of Education, total 153,667 institutions.

Of all these institutions, people's schools or adult schools receive more emphasis than the other agencies. Adult schools usually aim at teaching illiterates sixteen years of age or over. Using the experimental results of the Mass Education Movement, the adult schools can now help the illiterates to master in 200 hours the basic Chinese of 1,300 characters in reading and writing. In 1930, an estimate of illiterates between sixteen and sixty inclusive put it at 202,000,000. Since then and up to 1942, 30,623,776 or roughly one sixth of that number received this basic-Chinese education.²

Areas of adult education.—The areas of adult education coincide with the areas of life needs. The writer is accustomed to the following groupings:

- a) Education for direct self-preservation—physical and health education
- b) Education for indirect self-preservation—education for livelihood
- c) Education for homemaking—including education for parenthood
- d) Education for social relationships
- e) Education for citizenship
- f) Language education
- g) Science education
- h) Arts education

These eight areas are representative of the activities carried on in the different institutions of adult education.

² Chen Li-fu, *Chinese Education During the War, 1937-1942* (Chungking: The Ministry of Education, 1942), p. 16

Programs under controls other than those of the organs of educational administration. — Many adult-education programs now under control of administrative organs other than those of education are important in adult education. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to introduce the most important of these programs.

In the area of education for direct self-preservation, mention should be made of health education, under the control of the National Health Administration and the departments of civil affairs in provincial, county, and city governments. Although other agencies are doing some auxiliary health-education work, its chief responsibility lies with the public hospitals. Activities of health education include demonstrations, exhibits, classes, and individual guidance.

Agricultural extension and the cooperative movement are two important programs in the area of education for indirect self-preservation or education for livelihood. Agricultural extension is under control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the departments of reconstruction in provincial, county, and city governments. Administrators in these various governments are backed up on technical matters by the Central Agricultural Research Institute and provincial and county experimental farms. Agricultural colleges have no official responsibilities for agricultural extension work, although their experimental results in the science of agriculture and the techniques of extension have been widely used.

Cooperatives are under the care of the Bureau of Co-operatives in the National Government and the departments of reconstruction in provincial, county, and city governments. The administrative machines are aided by government and private banks. Since the war there has been an accelerated development of industrial cooperatives, which are now operating semiofficially.

In the area of education for social relationships, it is worth introducing the new life movement which starts with teaching the

people such minor habits as keeping to the left (not right!) on the streets, forming lines, and not smoking in public places. Its ultimate aim is to build up a spirit of rebirth.

Education for citizenship includes newspapers, popular reading matter, motion pictures, and radio, all under the control of the Ministry of Information. Another important phase of education for citizenship is guidance or coaching in self-government, for which the Ministry of Interior in the National Government and the departments of civil affairs in provincial, county, and city governments are responsible. By far the most important phase of citizenship education is the political education carried on in the compulsory militia training.

All these programs, before 1940, reached the masses mainly through the institutes of popular education (experimental districts for people's education) and public elementary schools, which were under the control of educational administrative organs.

Personnel training.—Roughly speaking, there have been two types of training institutions, the consolidated type and the differentiated type. Before the war started in 1937, there had been several institutions of the consolidated type on the secondary level, one department in a private university, and an independent college. The independent college was the Kiangsu Provincial College of Education at Wusih, Kiangsu, and since 1938 at Kweilin, Kwangsi. It had a department of adult education, another department of agricultural education, and several two-year courses for motion-picture and radio education, agricultural extension, and industrial arts. This college was responsible for the developments in adult education in China for thirteen years prior to 1941.

Of the differentiated type, there are, for example, agricultural colleges and secondary-agricultural schools for extension workers, schools of physical education for personnel in charge of public playgrounds, library schools for librarians, and short courses for adult-school teachers, story tellers, and so on.

At the present, there is no information to show any training schools of the consolidated type on the secondary level. There are, however, a number of temporary short courses offering training to various personnel branches. The number of departments of adult education in universities has increased to about six.

In the autumn of 1941 the Kiangsu Provincial College of Education with its temporary war site at Kweilin was taken over by the Ministry of Education and reorganized into the National College of Social Education with its campus at Pishan, near Chungking. This step taken by the central government represents its interest in training personnel on a national scale. It opened with a department of adult-education administration, a department of libraries and museums, a department of social-service administration, a junior college course (two years above senior middle school) of motion-picture and radio education.

The New County System

The New County System as a result of consolidation of adult-education programs.—A perusal of the previous section reveals that the vital parts of the whole program of "life education" are taken care of by administrative agencies other than the educational. The "educational" institutions have direct responsibility only for cultural education in its narrower sense, but, because of their great numbers and intimate contact with the masses, they have been proved useful as media for educational programs other than the merely cultural. The need for closer coordination and consolidation of the important agencies of adult education and of the important phases of the whole program for social reconstruction was felt by adult educators or rural reconstruction promoters as early as 1930. The idea was first carried out in experiment stations and later in demonstration districts. Then several provincial governments became interested and many experimental counties were organized. At last there was developed a compact program which, when ac-

cepted and promulgated by the National Government, was known as New County System. It was in 1939 when the National Government ordered all provincial governments in free China to effect a reorganization of the local political, economic, and educational units according to the new system.

New County System based on pao chia.—The new system is based on the organization of *pao chia*. *Pao chia* is a kind of local self-government originating in the eleventh century. In 1932, when the National Government was fighting the communists in Kiangsi, it was remodeled and practised with great success. The present practice of *pao chia*, as a part of the New County System, comprises four levels under the county or *hsien*. The lowest level or unit is the family. About ten families make one *chia*. About ten *chia* make one *pao*, so each *pao* has about 100 families. About ten *pao* make one *hsiang* (township) or *tseng* (town); so each *hsiang* or *tseng* has about 1,000 families. Many *hsiang* and *tseng* make a county or *hsien*.

"Trinity" of the school principal.—The center of gravity of the system is in *hsiang*, *tseng*, and *pao*. All the public services in each geographical or administrative unit on *hsiang*, *tseng*, or *pao* levels are to be combined into one organization: one is the school, teaching the old as well as the young; another is the local government, charged with political and economic responsibilities; a third is the local militia. The school principal is at the same time head of the other two parts. The teachers do a part of the work outside of teaching. The *pao* units are supervised by *hsiang* or *tseng* units, which are in turn under the supervision of the county government.

Union of k'uan, ch'iao, yang, wei.—In the system we see exemplified the principle of "union of *k'uan*, *ch'iao*, *yang*, *wei*." *Wei* means protection, particularly in the sense of defense against aggression. *Yang* means livelihood. *Ch'iao* means teaching. People are to be taught (*ch'iao*) to protect their safety (*wei*) and improve their livelihood (*yang*). *K'uan* means the act of governing. People are not

to be merely governed but be taught (*ch'iao*) to govern (*k'uan*) themselves. Worded in another way, *k'uan* represents the political phase of the program, *yang* the economic, and *wei* the military. These three phases are to be supported by education (*ch'iao*) because people are to learn to run their own businesses. All four phases—*k'uan*, *ch'iao*, *yang*, *wei*—make up one unit program carried out by one unit organization.

Three stages of national reconstruction.—Probably a brief explanation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's idea of the three stages of national reconstruction is necessary. According to Dr. Sun, the father of the Chinese Republic, the first stage of national reconstruction is the military stage—to wipe out militarists and other reactionaries. The second stage is tutelary or educational—to teach the people to be the masters of a new political order. The third stage is the constitutional stage after which the task of national revolution and reconstruction will be complete. The tremendous amount of work in the tutelary stage awaits the efforts of Chinese adult educators, who have now found in the New County System an effective instrument to carry on their work. The only caution to be taken is not to be over-effective with the system as it is mainly in the hands of the intelligentsia under upper-level government control.

Adult education as a social movement, and leaning toward educational reform.—It is clear that the program embodied in the New County System is one of social movement. So far as education is concerned, it is more a program of adult education than of adolescent or child education, because adults make up the overwhelming majority of the clientele. Indeed, the program embodied in the New County System is a good example of adult education as a social movement. With its revolutionary ideas and practices, it is also considered an important educational reform. Many of Professor John Dewey's followers in China think that the whole program is in accord with his philosophy of education.

Recent Trends Summarized

Integration at lower administrative levels.—By the application of the New County System it is clear that drastic steps have been taken to effect integration and consolidation of the program of social reconstruction and/or adult education. This is justified by the urgency of the task, the sparseness of population in rural areas, and the necessity of being economical from the point of view of time, personnel, and materials.

Awakening to the necessity of coordination at upper administrative levels.—As has been revealed above, almost all the vital parts of life education are now under divergent administrative controls. Following the integration at lower levels, it seems obvious that a second step must be taken to secure better coordination at upper levels. Among those who felt the need is the writer who, in the spring of 1941, proposed the organization of a joint committee of representatives from different related administrative units in the central government and all related national organizations. He also proposed the organization of like committees in the provinces. In a newspaper article, he called for a united front in the adult-education movement and emphasized a common program for a common clientele. Although nothing has been done since he left his country, he is nevertheless relatively certain that the chances are ripening for better coordination.

The role of adult education in national reconstruction.—Since this is the tutelary stage and tutelage calls for education of adults, it is no exaggeration to say that adult education is playing one of the most important roles in national reconstruction, a role it has never played before. The application of the New County System is proof of the statement.

Two groups of Chinese adult educators.—Chinese adult educators may be classified into two groups. One group represents the broadest point of view and has always looked at education in its broad social context. This group of people directly takes part in social reform work, which to them is nothing but living a common

life with their "pupils" and educating them by solving together common problems as they arise.

Another group of Chinese adult educators tends to evade the vital political, economic, and social issues, and to take refuge under the camouflage of cultural education. They have talked a great deal about the war plans on paper, but have never been bold enough to stretch their heads out of their dugouts! They have virtually given up the first front. They refrain from thinking of a second one. Instead, they seek their third, fourth, fifth, . . . fronts in libraries, museums, literacy classes, public playgrounds, and other like institutions. In a word, they are withdrawing from the battle with real life.

Future scope of adult education.—In conclusion, let us turn back to adult education as a type of educational practice and look at it for the moment as technically as possible. Suppose some one would ask: What would be the scope of adult education in the future according to the experience of Chinese adult educators? The simple answer the writer wishes to give is that it is wholly a matter of "expediency." For example, for convenience of division of labor, a day may come when education will be divided on a basis of educational standard, such as elementary, secondary, and higher; the teaching of illiterate adults may be included in elementary education, some other programs may be distributed among secondary and higher educational agencies, and some research libraries and museums may be included exclusively in higher education. Or, it may also turn out that education will be divided on a basis of ages of the educated, such as infant education, child education, adolescent education, adult education, and senescent education; and the graduate schools, for example, may be classified as adult-education agencies. The future scope of adult education depends upon how adult education will develop and how the whole scheme of the education of human beings will be remodeled.

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NORWEGIAN STUDENTS FIGHT THE WAR

Kurt D. Singer

A quotation from *Fritt Folk*, Vidkun Quisling's own newspaper of January 3, 1944: "Who can say that he knows one single student in Norway who has not distributed illegal newspapers or taken part in one way or another in underground activities against the German authorities and Vidkun Quisling's Government? Not one!"

This startling tribute to the courageous Norwegian students was paid in all the Nazi-controlled newspapers of occupied Norway. Thus the Nazis themselves have testified that the Norwegian students and professors have fought for nearly four years a bitter fight for intellectual freedom.

This is, briefly, the story of their struggle from 1940-1944

On September 25, 1940, a "Quisling cabinet" was appointed by Josef Terboven, the Nazi governor of Norway. That very day he made a speech and told the Norwegian people that King Haakon had been dethroned and the government deposed.

A few days later, the students of the Oslo University took part in a large meeting. Eight hundred students attended the meeting and as many students were unable to find room in the assembly hall. The principal speech was delivered by Dr. Johan Scharffenberg, a prominent doctor and political journalist. The speaker declared that King Haakon was the expression of the will of the Norwegian people to regain their liberty and independence. At the end of the meeting a vote was taken. All 800 students rose solemnly in confirmation of a joint declaration that, whatever might happen, they would stand firm in complete unity.

Three days after this meeting a uniformed Hirdman—this is a Quisling stormtrooper—provoked a riot outside Oslo University. The incident had obviously been organized by the Hirdmen in advance, and as soon as the first Hirdman had been put in his place by the students a large number of his colleagues arrived in trucks. They were armed with batons, and a bitter street fight ensued.

The next day, Dr. Johan Scharffenberg, who had lectured to the students and who was over 70 years of age, was arrested and taken to Gestapo headquarters, together with the president of the student's association, John Sanness. They were held in prison for seven weeks. These were amongst the first political arrests to be made in occupied Norway.

In the days that followed, anti-Quisling and anti-German demonstrations took place in schools, high schools, and colleges throughout the country. Many students, lecturers, and academics were arrested. Threats were made on October 7, 1940, to close the University of Oslo and all high schools, but the threat was not carried out. Instead on October 11 the Norwegian student's association was dissolved and its funds confiscated by the Nazis. The fact that the Nazis did not even attempt to nazify or re-establish the student's association on their own lines is in itself a significant admission of their lack of support amongst the students.

During the winter of 1940-1941 the Nazis made many attempts to nazify the Norwegian universities and the colleges of university rank. They tried, among other things, to appoint new Quisling examiners. But they failed in this as they did in most of their attempts, owing to the firm stand put up by Professor Didrik Seip, the dean of the University of Oslo.

In October 1941, however, three Nazis professors were appointed to the Oslo University. It was a futile gesture. No one ever listened to their lectures and eventually they ceased lecturing altogether.

During the general terror of the state of emergency in September 1941, the Quislings found an opportunity of taking revenge on Dean Seip, who had been such a stumbling block in their efforts to nazify the Oslo University. Professor Seip, 59 years old, was arrested and sent to the notorious Grini concentration camp. He received the most brutal treatment and among other things spent four weeks in solitary confinement in a dark cell. He was transferred to a concentration camp in Germany in April 1942.

In his place the Quisling secretary of church and education, a

member of Quisling's Cabinet, Ragner Skancke, was in effect appointed president of the Oslo University but Adolf Hoel, a Nazi expert on the Arctic and a lecturer at the University, became acting principal. Three of the University professors and eighty students were arrested at that time.

Adolf Hoel's first act was to dismiss Karl Kramer, the president of the student's joint committee, which represents the various faculty committees.

At this time it was also hinted that all the students would be enrolled as members of Quisling's own party the "Nasjonal Samling," but the plan was abandoned owing to the strong resistance it encountered.

In the summer of 1942, the Nazis made their first attempts to admit students of their own creed to the universities and the colleges, in preference to loyal Norwegians. Under this plan the Nazis did not have to possess the necessary academic qualifications as long as their party membership cards were in order.

The campaign began in July simultaneously with the dismissal of the head of the dental college and the appointment of a Quisling in his place. The dental college was informed that the regulations of the colleges and the medical and pharmaceutical faculties of the University of Oslo had been altered. Under the new regulation the dominating factor in the appointment of teachers and the selection of students would not be their scholastic qualifications but their political outlook—a very serious matter in the case of medical students.

The professors and teachers made a sharp protest to the authorities, but received no reply. Instead, further changes were made known, under which 25 per cent of the new students were to be selected by the "Ministry of Education" and not by the colleges. The bona fides of existing students were also to be scrutinized.

When the time came for the Nazis actually to put these regula-

tions into operation the university and college professors and teachers throughout the country threatened to resign, and the authorities had to abandon their plans, at least for the time being.

It was by no means only the University of Oslo which figured in this struggle. The Germans met equally stubborn resistance throughout all the Norwegian colleges and technical institutions. The Norwegian Pratt Institute in Trondheim has played a prominent part. The resistance movement here had been so forceful that the Gestapo made a raid on the school in October 1942 and opened fire on the students, following alleged sabotage and the blowing up of a troopship in the harbor. The students resisted and a number of them were injured. One of the professors of the school was also injured during this incident. Many students were arrested.

Two months later, a whole class—about 30 students—was arrested, apparently because one student, for whom the Gestapo had been searching, had made his escape from the country.

When in the spring of 1943, universal slave-labor conscription was introduced in Norway, the students too had to register at the labor exchanges.

A new and more serious crisis began to develop at the University of Oslo in September 1943. It was provoked by a fresh Nazi attempt to throw open the gates of the university and the colleges to unqualified Quisling students. A decree was also intended to make possible the entry of Quisling "volunteers" as a reward for their services on the eastern front as members of the "Norwegian Legion."

All the university faculties, with the exception of one Nazi, unanimously supported a protest which was made to the Nazi authorities, and the professors and lecturers declared that they would not be able to continue their work under such conditions.

As a result, the Quisling authorities had to climb down to some extent, and the Secretary of Education summoned all the professors representing the faculties to a conference and assured them that it

was in their own interests that the University should not be closed. He promised that the new regulations would not be put into operation for the time being.

Three weeks later, in October 1943, the Quisling police suddenly made a swoop on the Oslo University and arrested eight professors who were suspected of leading the resistance movement and also some 200 students. Some of the students were transferred to Grini concentration camp. Once more protests were made by practically all the students. Twenty-two hundred of them sent individual letters of protest to the Ministry of Education demanding that those who had been arrested should be released and requesting a guarantee that such incidents would not be repeated.

Faced with protests from all quarters, the Nazis put out a report that those who had been arrested were about to be released, whereas, in reality, the very opposite was the truth. The Nazis had in fact decided that those who had been arrested were to be detained for at least six months, as they had refused to sign a declaration of loyalty to the Quisling Party.

For a week nothing happened—and then the German Gestapo took a hand.

On a Sunday morning, November 28, 1943, a serious fire broke out in the assembly hall of the Oslo University. A great campaign was immediately whipped up against the students by the Nazis, accusing the students of vandalism and sabotage.

All of the circumstances indicate, however, that the Germans set the University on fire themselves in order to create a crisis and furnish a pretext for more drastic action in view of their previous failures to suppress this important section of the home front. Contrary to the normal reaction on acts of sabotage, the Nazis immediately published a highly detailed account of how the fire had broken out—details which they would hardly have known, at least so soon, if they had not been party to the incident. The fire was denounced by the Nazis as a "Communist outrage." But the similarity with the "Reichstag fire" technique is obvious.

Two days later followed the mass arrest of all students on whom the Gestapo could lay hands. From ten o'clock in the morning to two o'clock in the afternoon of November 30, 1943, the streets of Oslo were in a state of alarm as German Gestapo men and soldiers rushed through the streets in police cars, trucks, taxis, and motor cycles, rounding up students and professors. The main University buildings, the University library, the National Hospital, the student's house, the laboratories, the new natural science department at Blindern, various libraries and museums, the Veterinary College, and the Dental College in Oslo were surrounded by Nazi troops and police. All students present were taken in trucks to the main University buildings. Others were arrested in their homes.

Altogether more than 2,000 students, a large number of professors, and some of the staff, as well as demonstrators among the general public, were arrested within those four hours.

The students and professors were assembled in the main building of the Oslo University, where the chief of the German police and SS elite guards in Norway, General Rediess, made a violent speech accusing them of forming a center of resistance. He told them that they would be deported to a special camp in Germany, adding that the authorities had been lenient in deciding to send them to a special camp and not to a concentration camp.

Eight hundred women students were released and told to return home immediately and report to the local police. They were ordered not to leave their homes without permission from the police.

The Gestapo hunt for students and professors continued throughout the week and was also extended through the whole country. Students who were helping farmers on the land or working in forestry were also being rounded up. Even students who had graduated as long ago as 1941 were being arrested.

When it became known that the university students were to be deported to concentration camps in Nazi Germany, church groups reached a decision to try to have a pastor accompany the deportees and to live with them in imprisonment abroad. Immediately four

young pastors volunteered for the assignment and the Reverend Einar Gløbersen, secretary-general of the Christian student association, was selected.

However, permission to carry out the plan first had to be obtained from the Nazis. Repeated requests were made but not a single one of them elicited a response. The church leaders, according to an underground report from Norway to the Royal Norwegian Government in London, "have been unable to regard this silence as anything other than new evidence that the German overlords do not entertain the least respect or concern for the values of the soul."

The message continues: "It now remains for the church to follow the only course left open to it, perilous though it be. It has sent out an appeal to all Christians to participate in prayer for the Norwegian student youth who for an indefinite period must slave on foreign soil in Nazi camps." The Nazis, declaring the University of Oslo had been a hotbed for anti-Nazi activity, have now strictly forbidden all prayers for Norwegian students who are held prisoners by the Nazis.

A large number of students fled the country; many who have gone to neutral Sweden are continuing their studies there; those who have been so fortunate as to reach Great Britain have joined the Norwegian Forces in England and Canada.

Six students are known to have been executed for trying to escape from Norway in small fishing vessels but hundreds are today proud pilots in the Norwegian Airforce waiting for the coming invasion of the North.

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MAKING THE FOUR FREEDOMS A REALITY

Mabel Wilson Smart

During wartime there is a more obvious need for functional integration in society than in peacetime, the interdependence of groups is naturally felt to be a prerequisite for victory. Civilian *esprit de corps* is just as vital as unified military effort. When there is striving for a common goal the dissimilarities of our various population groups can be constructively utilized and become a source of strength. We are a land of many minorities in constant interaction through which the growth of cultural unity occurs. It is a difficult process, this emergence of a dynamic togetherness that will be strong enough to cope with the tensions of the postwar world and help us achieve a peace that makes further social change possible and so lessen the need for future wars as a stimulus to cooperative effort.

The Adult Council of the Henry Street Settlement House in New York gathered in October 1942 to discuss this problem of cultural integration as related to the present world situation and the future, *seeking to understand why so little had been gained from the First World War for the cause of justice, tolerance, and the brotherhood of mankind*. There was a widespread awareness of this great failure, a consciousness of guilt that stimulated a deeper sense of responsibility for participating in the work of making a better world.

This group came to feel that the problems of minorities, particularly of the Negro minority, are of central importance in a democracy. There is a too frequent appearance of prejudice, intolerance, and strife. The minority then functions in a negative way bringing social disintegration, the sense of belonging and contributing to human welfare is submerged. A reaffirmation of faith in our common goals becomes imperative.

The Atlantic Charter and Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, January 6, 1941, served to express and clarify what we want

as a whole people, also what we believe mankind wants. The Four Freedoms, of speech, expression, and worship, and freedom from want and from fear, are essential for human well-being. The Adult Council felt that the Four Freedoms needed to be expressed in a more concrete dramatic way and that the implications for minority problems should be made clear.

Letters were sent to fourteen organizations asking their cooperation in furnishing any available written materials or dramatic subject matter pertaining to the Four Freedoms. All that was gathered in this way was turned over for consideration to a committee which met several times weekly to discuss the content and report to the adult council. It was hoped that suitable material would be discovered so that a play could be produced at the Henry Street Settlement which would express the meaning of the Four Freedoms for minorities, illustrating in a concrete way their potentialities for constructive social participation.

During this process of search and discussion the council did not merely wait for the committee to function but demonstrated their feeling for minorities by organizing two social gatherings. They sponsored a party for the benefit of our Chinese allies. Members of the group visited Chinatown, interviewed leading Chinese citizens, and planned the program. Chinese volunteers made the decorations for the Henry Street Settlement gymnasium where the party was held, suitable refreshments were served, and a Chinese newspaper editor spoke. Ninety dollars was raised for the Chinese War Relief Fund. Another party was organized by the Adult Council for our Russian allies. Native speakers and a Ukrainian chorus of thirty singers in costume furnished a lively program expressive of this great group of peoples, their achievements, difficulties, and hopes for the future.

Both these events were primarily recreational though also educational. The committee in its searching for a more effective way of reaching deeper levels of thought and action concerning minorities

came to realize that materials for a dramatic production expressing the spirit of the Four Freedoms had not been found. The members felt the need of coordinating the efforts of various agencies such as the Good Will Committee, the National Federation of Settlements, the United Neighborhood Houses, and, more particularly, the New York Adult Education Council. A new study group was formed; the objective was an experiment in adult education for postwar planning.

Ten weekly meetings were held in which there was a constant interflow of discussion and critical analysis of the trends of thinking on the postwar world. At the end of the season a special meeting of the group was arranged by the Adult Council, Professor Lindeman being the speaker of the evening.

With a deepened understanding of the complex postwar situation the group felt that minority problems are an area of central importance, particularly when dissimilarity of race is involved. Professor Lindeman pointed out that three quarters of the world population are "colored" and that these groups are becoming more and more politically and racially conscious and that unless we accord them equal rights and understanding as fellow human beings there will be tensions and conflicts inimical to the growth of cultural unity.

Members of the group felt a need for action. The Council evaluated the postwar course and expressed satisfaction in the reading, research, and discussion it had stimulated. Larger meetings of interested citizens had grown out of the group meetings; various progressive organizations were cooperating for better interracial understanding and common effort. The importance of electing the right people to government positions was recognized, also of checking on what these people did. Letters were written to their representatives letting them know how they felt about important issues.

This kind of social action, valuable as it was, did not satisfy the members of the group. They wanted to do something themselves,

to sponsor a project that would reveal the capacities of a minority group to participate in and contribute to social life as a whole. After considering various methods of doing this, Miss Rose M. Wasserman suggested the presentation of an exhibition showing the contribution of the Negro to various areas of American life which would involve the cooperative effort of individuals and organizations who felt that such an exhibition would be an effective means of arousing a more widespread appreciation and deeper insight concerning what Negro citizens can and have done that is culturally significant and valuable. Miss Wasserman's proposal of an exhibit was discussed and approved by Miss Helen Hall, headworker of the Henry Street Settlement.

In organizing the exhibit many methods of gathering material and help were used. Letters were written to prominent Negro and white individuals and organizations explaining the project and requesting aid in planning the exhibit. Visits were made to Harlem where it was found that there had been some previous exhibitions by local organizations but the interest aroused had not been sufficiently widespread. New methods were needed.

People sent in materials including many pamphlets and books in response to the appeal made. Various clubs at the Settlement had meetings and round-table discussions dealing with Negro contributions to our culture; every one was enthusiastic about the exhibition and pledged to help make it a success.

Among the various organizations which cooperated was the Council Against Intolerance in America. Mr. John Becker, the public relations adviser, offered his services in planning and producing the exhibit. Mr. Paul Kellogg, editor of the *Survey Graphic* which had published a Harlem issue in 1925, also was glad to help. With Miss Hall and Miss Wasserman they formed a committee of four to manage the production of the exhibit. It was felt that the use of volunteers was suitable and highly valuable but that professional skill was needed for the layout and mounting of the photographs in

the exhibition and that publicity was a serious problem, inadequacy in these areas being the reason for the incomplete success of former exhibitions of the same nature.

In addition to the photographic material gathered there was an offer on the part of Mr. Kellogg to loan paintings by Mr. Winold Reiss. It was decided to have these on exhibit separately at 265 Henry Street at the same time the groups of photographs were being shown so they would complement each other, signs in each place directing people to the other exhibit. The opening date was February 27, 1944, the plan being to close on March 13. Due to enthusiastic public feeling the exhibition continued an additional week through March 20.

For weeks before the opening date, publicity was given in a variety of ways. By word of mouth, information about what was being planned at Henry Street was widely disseminated. Members of the various clubs and committees told their friends and advertised the exhibit through other organizations of which they were members. In all the adult clubs there was round-table discussion on the Negro's contribution to American life which stimulated growing interest.

As the opening date approached there were suitable releases in the daily newspapers, the labor press including the *Daily Worker*, neighborhood news sheets, special Negro papers, and magazines such as *Unity*. A hundred posters were used in various libraries, their staffs being very active in the project, museums, the different schools, public, parochial, and colleges, including university graduate schools of social work and research. Organizations such as the National Federation of Settlements, United Neighborhood Houses, the American Association of Adult Education, and the New York Adult Education Council gave full publicity. Two thousand flyers were distributed in the neighborhood and invitations sent to people especially interested as well as to affiliated organizations. Announcements were made in churches, schools, and at large meetings. There

was some use of radio at the WNYC station and attempts were made to interest a number of popular broadcasters. The chief effort in publicity however was made by the members of the adult council who also volunteered as clerical workers, hostesses, and ushers during the exhibition.

In describing the photographic material assembled Mr. Becker referred to it as visual education, and pointed out that the method of presentation is similar to that used in the popular picture magazines, *Life*, *Look*, and *Pic*. For most people seeing is believing; convictions and attitudes can be influenced and changed by what is seen. There must be a desire to see and also a way of presenting material that catches the eye and focuses the attention, arousing interest and new comprehension. The purpose of the exhibit was to show through use of photographs how the American Negro has contributed to our culture, history, and present-day life.

There were twenty-three large placards and on each of these was mounted from one to eight photographs. The placards were arranged in three main groups in addition to which there was a pictorial introduction and conclusion. The first simply instructed the observer to follow the numbers in order; then came a placard with four photographs showing the Negro as farmer, worker, writer, and hero. This served to dispel the idea that colored people were socially useful only in some limited area in which the observer may have known them.

The first main group of placards was concerned with the Negro's background and his cultural contributions to America, showing that though the origin in Africa was different from the white man's it is nevertheless worthy of our interest and respect. The photographs go on to illustrate how profoundly American culture, our language, poetry, and music, for example, have been influenced by the Negro's heritage. In addition there are many photographs of Negroes who have been and are eminent in the arts.

The second group had its focus on Negro intelligence and in-

cludes statistics from Army I. Q. tests of World War I as well as pictures of writers, poets, educators, doctors, and architects, with a case of books by these Negroes and about them, showing the variety of socially significant ways their intelligence was used.

The third group of placards was devoted to the Negro in our history and particularly with his patriotic record of fighting for democracy at home and abroad. The first photograph was the tomb of Crispus Attucks with the legend beneath it; all of us know about Paul Revere, the white hero, but how many of us know about Crispus Attucks, another hero, a Negro, the first American to be shot by the British in the American Revolution? This was followed by pictures of American Negro heroes in the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and also World War II.

The concluding three placards stimulated the observer to think about what he had seen. The first of these showed Negro and white children playing-together and had a brief legend to the effect that race prejudice is not inherent, children learn it from their elders. The second placard had pictures of Negro and white adults working and playing together in various settings, defense industries, at a union meeting, in a housing project, and at the Stage Door Canteen. The last placard was a photographic map: in the center the American flag, lines radiating from the flag to photographs of people in the Caribbean, South America, Africa, India, the Philippines, the East Indies, and China. The idea was to indicate that these colored peoples forming three fourths of the world's population look to our treatment of the American Negro to see what we really mean when we speak of the Four Freedoms.

The dynamic quality of the photographic material used and the artistic but purposeful way in which it was grouped and displayed made a definite appeal to the public. It was estimated that about two thousand persons saw the exhibit at least once, many living in the neighborhood or members of the Henry Street Settlement re-

turning to see it several times. Over one thousand seven hundred signatures were made in the guest book and a number of letters were received expressing appreciation and giving suggestions about presenting the exhibition in other places.

During the period of exhibition there were four very successful evening gatherings which expressed the spirit of the project as a whole. The first was held in the Playhouse at the Settlement on the opening night. There were speeches by committee members, the headworker and others. The Third Naval Coast Guard Quartet with colored and white singers gave several numbers and a group from the Broadway musical, *Carmen Jones*, danced and sang. Every one enjoyed the atmosphere of fraternalism.

The second event was an open house sponsored by Negro members of the settlement who were very happy about the exhibit and gained tremendously in confidence as a result. They changed the name of their Colored Community Club to the Marian Anderson Club. This group presented a playlet showing the contributions of great Negro women to American life.

The third evening event was a dinner meeting given by Mr. Paul Kellogg, editor of the *Survey Graphic*, to honor Mr. Winold Reiss whose paintings of outstanding Negro personalities of twenty-five years ago were on exhibition simultaneously with the photographic exhibit. Colored and white people were invited to the dinner, their discussion centering about Mr. Reiss's painting and the fact that in spite of their artistic value no museum would accept them for exhibition at the time they were painted. Dr. Alan Locke of Howard University commented on the change in attitude during the years now making it possible for some work by Negro artists to be exhibited.

The last evening gathering was a tea given by the State, County and Municipal Workers of America. Seventy-five people attended including the local hospital officials and social service director.

They felt that the exhibit had met the need for more cooperation and friendship between Negro and white people.

In evaluating the project Miss Rose Wasserman put first of all the interest and respect for the exhibit shown by neighborhood children many of whom had been in trouble because of antisocial and destructive behavior. At first they merely glanced at the pictures in a casual way but many returned alone to see them again and later brought their parents, often asking intelligent questions and entering into discussion. Sometimes a school class came together and pupils wrote letters indicating a growth in respect and appreciation of the Negro. Two short plays were written on the theme of tolerance by pupils in Public School 110, showing that colored and white children can be good friends.

The Board of Education and the Teachers' Union recognized the educational value of the project and have arranged for copies and slides of the photographic material which was drawn from such a wide variety of sources. Several periodicals have requested stories about the project and how it utilized visual education as a means of fostering better interracial relationships, thus contributing in a constructive way to the problem of minorities in the post-war world.

So many organizations expressed a desire to use the exhibit that arrangements were made for allowing it to travel. On June 2, 1944, a list was made of twenty-three places where it has been shown including several cities outside New York State. The adult council of the Henry Street Settlement believes that it may be useful to many organizations throughout the country which may enlarge it by additional placards of their local Negro heroes.

It is possible that the exhibit may stimulate similar exhibits of the contributions of other minorities to our country. The Italian group of the Henry Street Settlement is considering a project on what Italians have done and are doing for America. Cooperation

between minorities was encouraged by the project, the Marian Anderson Club voting to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal in addition to giving funds to Negro organizations.

The photographic exhibit when used for a great social objective illustrates the potentialities of visual educational methods for adult education. There is a definite lack of information and need for more understanding about the role of minority groups in American life. Those who participated in the project at the Henry Street Settlement found an effective way of meeting this need and helping in the process of social integration which will make the Four Freedoms a reality.

Miss Smart is a case worker with the Telegram Unit, Home Service Department, of the Brooklyn Red Cross.

A SMALL CITY'S CHILDREN IN 1900

Morris Steggerda

Introduction

Recently I completed a study on the anthropometry of approximately 200 children in Holland, Michigan. These children have been measured annually for the last 12 years; the record of their physical development was begun when they attended kindergarten and completed on their graduation from high school.

Because of the troublesome times ahead of these children, it is natural that one should be somewhat concerned about their future. Having myself been born in Holland, Michigan, 43 years ago, having graduated from the same schools in which my anthropometry series was made, and having experienced along with the rest of my generation the uncertain, difficult times accompanying and following the First World War, I find it interesting now to record certain sociological facts concerning the lives of my boyhood companions, with the thought that they may predict in some respects the sort of future to be expected for the present-day children of this midwestern town of 15,000 inhabitants.

Holland, Michigan, may be considered an industrial town, it has many furniture factories, foundries, and other industries. Approximately seventy-five per cent of its people are of Dutch extraction, the town having been settled less than 100 years ago by immigrants direct from the Netherlands. In the Netherlands these immigrants had been chiefly merchants, laborers, and farmers. There are approximately twenty large churches in Holland, all of them well attended, and there is also a denominational college. Besides the public-school system there are two parochial schools, one Catholic and the other Protestant. The country surrounding the town consists chiefly of small farms and truck gardens.

To begin this study I recorded the names of seventy-five persons who were my childhood companions about thirty-five years ago;

forty-eight of these were boys and twenty-seven girls. I then proceeded to secure information concerning them, covering the following topics: (a) marital status, (b) number of children, (c) education, (d) occupation, and (e) miscellaneous facts

This information was gathered from several of my friends who have remained in Holland. I purposely limited the study to include only those persons who in childhood lived in the "East End" section of Holland, east of College Avenue.

Results

Marital Status. I was unable to secure data on the marital status of 3 of the 75 persons. Of the remaining 72, 67 had been married; 7 of these had been divorced, 4 had been married twice, and 1 had been married three times. Four of the 75 persons married within the group, and 7 more of them married people who were also from the East End. Thirty married persons from other parts of the city of Holland. Eleven selected their mates from small towns near Holland, and 2 from distant parts of the State, and 4 from outside of the State of Michigan.

The average number of children per married couple was 2.3, with a range of from none to 12. The distribution was as follows: unknown, 13; no children, 9; one child, 17; two children, 17; three children, 7; four children, 4; five children, 3; six children, 2; eight children, 2; and twelve children, 1. These statistics do not represent completed families, since many of the mothers are still within the child-bearing age.

Education. Data for this heading were secured for 73 of the 75 persons investigated. They were grouped as follows: those who discontinued school at the eighth grade or sooner; those who acquired a high-school education or some part of it; those who went to college. Forty-eight students, or 55 per cent, left school during or at the end of the grades; fifteen, or 21 per cent, left during or after

high school; and ten, or 13 per cent, had some college training. Of the ten who attended college, six did some postgraduate work.

Occupation. Among the forty-eight men of the group, and the twenty-four husbands of the women of the group, there were three who had no occupation when the survey was made. For nine others it was not possible to secure information. Thus we have data concerning the occupations of 63 adults. The distribution is as follows:

<i>Laborers</i>	Factory workers	11
	Truck drivers	4
	Day laborers	3
	Private in United States Army	1
	Railroad worker	1
	"Ne'er do well"	1
		<hr/>
		21 (33 per cent)
<i>Tradesmen</i>	Bricklayers	3
	Electricians	2
	Machinists	2
	Florist	1
	Printer	1
		<hr/>
		9 (14 per cent)
<i>Clerks and Policemen</i>	Express clerks	3
	Detectives	2
	Sheriffs	2
	Policeman	1
	Store clerk	1
	Postal clerk	1
		<hr/>
		10 (16 per cent)

<i>Businessmen</i>	Merchants	9
	Salesmen	4
	Accountants	2
	Banker	1
		<hr/>
		16 (25 per cent)
<i>Professional Men</i>	Teachers	4
	Preachers	2
	Civil engineer	1
		<hr/>
		7 (10 per cent)

Of the 3 others who had some college training, 2 became accountants and 1 a florist. Of the women, 26 are listed as housewives, and 8 claim additional occupations, three as stenographers, one as a factory worker, one as a beauty-shop operator, one as a business woman, one as a teacher, and one as a store clerk.

Miscellaneous Facts

Six of the 75 persons have died: three as young adults, of tuberculosis; two brothers as middle-aged men, of heart disease, and one middle-aged man by suicide.

Three persons have been in prison as young adults; and one man, when in his late thirties, was confined to a mental institution.

Discussion

The seventy-five persons who make up this study lived as children on the east side of Holland, Michigan, in an area which represented approximately one fourth of the town. In this district there were a gas factory, two foundries, three furniture factories, a church, and a cemetery. The railroad extended from one end of the section to the other. The children belonged, in the main, to the factory work-

ing class. Those who attended college were of the same social stratum as those who did not.

In 35 years the area and its people have not changed appreciably. There are now two more foundries, and all the streets are paved; but otherwise the district remains very much as it was during my youth.

Briefly reviewing the educational trend of the group investigated, of which 55 per cent discontinued attendance at school during the grades, it would seem quite justified to predict that the present-day children will show a similar distribution as far as school attendance is concerned. Although more children attend high school today than in the previous generation, the growing need for factory and farm help, together with the heavily taxed incomes of parents, may result in a reduction of the numbers of pupils attending higher schools of learning.

The marriage statistics will probably remain the same; while the size of individual families may be further reduced, owing to the fact that more women are seeking employment and are therefore unable to raise families.

The figures listed under occupations demonstrate that factory workers and laborers lead in numbers, while professional workers are relatively few. The various advantages and inducements offered to laborers today, compared with those of a generation ago, may result in further swelling the ranks of factory workers, tradesmen, and other laboring groups, while the repercussions of World War II on business enterprises and professions in general may seriously hamper the efforts of boys of the younger generation to establish themselves as businessmen and professionals.

This short summary perhaps suggests more problems than it solves. Each of the aspects considered offers its own problem, and to analyze these fully it would be necessary to have further statistical information. For example, it would be interesting to know (1) the reasons for leaving school in each case, (2) the average age at

marriage, (3) the amount of infant mortality among the children born, (4) more concerning the social standards of the families concerned. Then too, a whole new problem could be outlined concerning the offspring of these matings, for many of these children have already finished high school, and are now in various occupations, including the present Army. I realize that the data recorded here are fragmentary, yet I offer them for the interest which they may stimulate.

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AN APPROACH TO THE CULTURAL PERSONALITY TYPE

Asahel D. Woodruff

Trends in social psychology were recently described by Cottrell and Gallagher¹ as moving away from the Aristotelian form of thought and from "atomistic, static, mechanistic, teleological" descriptions of behavior toward a Galilean form of thought and such ideas as are incorporated in the terms "dynamic, operational, field, organism-as-a-whole" and others. The importance of the "situation" in understanding behavior is freely acknowledged by social psychologists.

It may be said to follow that any description of one's basic effective directional dispositions must be made up of the values one comes to cherish and to seek. This idea is involved in the Allport-Vernon *Study of Values*.² It is also basic in the Lewinian field concept, where basic values may be the determiners of the valence of any given object in a specific field. An examination of Lewin's writing³ will also reveal how important the idea of a basic value pattern may be for understanding the nature of what he calls regional organizations.

Using a value-testing technique⁴ devised to reduce the rigidity of the Allport-Vernon test, and to allow for expression of highly individualized patterns of meaning and value, the writer believes it may be possible to approach the formation or description of a national type or of regional types of personality, where the person-

¹ Leonard S. Cottrell and Ruth Gallagher, *Developments in Social Psychology, 1930-1940* (New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1941), Sociometry Monograph No. 1.

² Gordon Allport and P. E. Vernon, *A Study of Values* (test) (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931).

³ Kurt Lewin, *Principles of Topological Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936), chap. xvii.

⁴ Asahel D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," *School Review*, January 1942, pp. 32-42.

ality is described, not in terms of specific traits, attitudes, habits, or such rigid concepts, but in terms of basic values.

To explore such a possibility, a re-examination was made of the scores of 313 tests recently given to students in various parts of the United States. By combining the patterns of value of all of the 313 subjects, it was possible to obtain the following results: (1) The average value pattern of the twelve values used in the test for all 313 subjects considered as one group. The values are arranged in rank order of importance to the individuals on each test. (2) An index of the group's homogeneity or heterogeneity on the rank assigned to each of the twelve values. (3) Possibilities of comparing the interrelationships of the twelve values in the pattern of the whole group as well as in subgroups set up according to certain characteristics. Each of the three outcomes will be discussed briefly. It must be clearly understood, however, that the sampling^a used in this study is not adequate to allow the claim that this value pattern or personality type is the representative American type. The sampling does, however, give something resembling a nationwide spread in spite of its uneven distribution. In addition it should be remembered that the people included in the study are mostly college students in late adolescence, with a few high-school students and a few young adults.

The test used in this study asks the subject to solve three problems, selection of a place to live, of a vocation, and of a social group to join. The available choices are described functionally, and the subject goes through four distinct steps in his solution to the problem. Each step offers something of a check on his choices in the other steps. At the end of the test he has given the scorer information which enables him to set up a rank order pattern of twelve

^aThe 313 subjects were tested in fourteen groups located as follows: four at the University of Chicago, five in other parts of Chicago than the University area, one in Utah, one in Ohio, one in Alabama, one in central Illinois, and one in Michigan. Most of the groups were located in schools which include religious training in their programs or are maintained by religious organizations.

values for the subject, and to interpret various other aspects of the subject's problem-solving behavior. When numbers from one to twelve are assigned to the values according to their places in the pattern, it is possible to combine value patterns of any number of people, and determine the average rank order of each value for the group. The standard deviation of each value becomes an index of the group's homogeneity on that value. Table 1 contains the data of interest to the particular problem now under discussion.

From common-sense observation one might be prepared for the relative positions of social service, home life, friendship, religion, political power, and society. Homes and friends have been prominent aspects of our American culture. Social service seems to be an ideal of youth everywhere. Religion is becoming a traditional and casual aspect of our culture subject to wide variations throughout the country. College students on the whole seem not to be interested greatly in politics or in a class-conscious formal sort of social life.

On the other hand it may be surprising to some to see security in such a relatively prominent position. Wealth is often idealized by very young children, and its position with this group may offer some indication of the stage in growth and development at which it begins to lose its greatest appeal. Excitement may be similarly characterized.

When these tests are subdivided into groups, as discussed elsewhere by the writer,⁹ the variations in the rank order of each value may be studied with relation to the background of the group's members. It may then be noted that some values, notably religion, are ranked in nearly all positions from top to bottom by the various groups, a fact which is indicated in table 1 by the large value of sigma for religion.

⁹ Asahel D. Woodruff, *A Study of the Directive Factors in Individual Behavior* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1941, private edition).

TABLE 1

RANK ORDER OF TWELVE VALUES FOR 313 STUDENTS

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Sigma</i>	<i>P E of Sigma</i>	<i>Mean Rank in All Tests</i>	<i>P E of Mean</i>	<i>Rank Order of Instability</i>
1	Social service	2.85	.08	4.08	.11	4-5
2	Home life	2.85	.08	4.11	.11	4-5
3	Friendship	2.33	.06	4.27	.09	12
4	Personal improvement	2.34	.06	5.40	.09	11
5	Security	2.67	.07	5.46	.10	8-9
6	Intellectual activity	3.25	.09	5.91	.12	2
7	Religion	3.97	.11	6.73	.15	1
8	Comfort	2.71	.07	7.20	.10	10
9	Political power	2.82	.08	8.19	.11	6
10	Society	2.67	.07	8.70	.10	8-9
11	Wealth	2.81	.08	8.71	.11	7
12	Excitement	3.07	.08	9.58	.12	3

Table 2 contains the twelve values listed in the order of their sigma scores. Those with the smallest sigmas are least likely to change from subgroup to subgroup. Several interesting facts appear here.

Religion, intellectual activity, and excitement, which are not ranked high, are distinctly more variable than the other nine values. There are significant differences between the size of their sigmas

TABLE 2

VALUES LISTED IN ORDER OF INDEX OF STABILITY

<i>Value</i>	<i>Sigma</i>	<i>P E of Sigma</i>
Friendship	2.33	.06
Personal improvement	2.34	.06
Security	2.67	.07
Society	2.67	.07
Comfort	2.71	.07
Wealth	2.81	.08
Political power	2.82	.08
Social service	2.85	.08
Home life	2.85	.08
Excitement	3.07	.08
Intellectual activity	3.25	.09
Religion	3.97	.11

and the other sigmas in the table. The sigmas of friendship and personal improvement, on the other hand, indicate a relatively high degree of stability from group to group. These two values are high in the rank order, but not at the top. This relation of the size of sigma to the rank of the value reveals a singular characteristic of the value pattern. It may be seen in table 1 that the two highest values are apparently not as stable as the third and fourth. If this were shown to be true in a larger study it might suggest the possibility that the most stable values in our American culture are not always the ones most obvious in daily conduct. As a matter of fact seven of the twelve values have smaller sigma scores than social service and home life. The differences are statistically significant only in the case of friendship and personal improvement.

Excitement is often mentioned by psychologists as a value of importance to preadolescents. Its large sigma score in these data may be due to the fact that the people tested vary from high-school seniors to graduate students in universities. Data in subgroup form¹ indicate that its variability is related in some cases to age and in other cases to background. There may well be a common causal factor operating in both cases.

Regional differences in interval relationships may be significant. The relative positions of two or more values in the pattern sometimes suggest subtle differences in the meaning of those values to the group. For example, in Table 1 social service and religion are separated rather widely. In some of the subgroups referred to earlier, they are placed together. Careful examination of the reasons given by the subject (in interviews) for separating or joining two such value concepts indicates that in some cases religion and social service are conceived to be the same thing, and in other cases apparently they have nothing in common. If such an interpretation is made in this case, it would suggest that on the whole religion in America is more institutional and symbolic than it is fraternal or socially effective. A careful study of the varying relationships of other pairs of values may reveal interesting facts about the relation-

¹*Ibid*

ship between ideals and actual behavior in the American way of life.

Although the sample in the present study is not adequate to lead to the description of a definite American personality type, the technique appears to hold promise. It would seem to have the possibility of contributing three valuable outcomes, a rank order pattern of the values which are commonly cherished in the culture, an indication of the relative stability of those values throughout the large culture, and an approach to the understanding of the unique aspects of each value characteristic of the various subgroups throughout the larger cultural area.

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND SOCIAL CLASS

William C. Kvaraceus

The behavior of children has been shown to be the result of innumerable variables. Few, if any, of these variables have the determining and dominating effect on the behavior pattern such as results from the single factor of the parent's method of earning a living.

In a study of American culture the Lynds stated:

"... as the study progressed it became more and more apparent that the money medium of exchange and the cluster of activities associated with its acquisition drastically condition the other activities of the people"¹

"... it is after all this division into working class and business class that constitutes the outstanding cleavage in Middletown. The mere fact of being born upon one or the other side of the watershed roughly formed by these two groups is the most significant single cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long throughout one's life..."²

The influence of class factors in all behavior has been demonstrated by Warner and Lunt who reported a close relationship between type of occupation and class status

"These is a high correlation between type of occupation and class position in Yankee City. If a person is a professional man or a proprietor he tends to be upper or middle class; if he is an unskilled worker he tends to be lower class. However, not all professional men are upper class and not all workers are lower class. Although clerks tend to be lower-middle class, some of them are upper class and others are lower class."³

In a study⁴ of delinquent aggression of 761 juveniles (563 boys and 198 girls) referred to the Passaic Children's Bureau during the

¹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 21

² *Ibid.*, p. 24

³ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), Yankee City Series I, 26

⁴ W. C. Kvaraceus, "The Role of the School in the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency" Unpublished doctorate study, Harvard University, 1943. 391 p

past five years, a careful check was made of the occupational classification of the delinquents' parents. The occupational distribution of the fathers and mothers of these delinquents was then compared with the distribution of all male and female workers in the community according to the 1940 Census. Tests of significance³ of the observed differences between proportions within the delinquent sample and the general population were applied. The results are presented in the following tables.

TABLE I
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF FATHERS OF PASSAIC DELINQUENTS
AS COMPARED TO GENERAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1940 CENSUS

Occupational Classification	No.	Fathers		1940 Census Males	T*
		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Professional workers	3	.56		4.71	— 4.5
Semiprofessional	3	.56		1.19	— 1.3
Proprietors	33	6.19		12.48	— 4.4
Clerical, sales	8	1.50		14.85	— 8.6
Craftsmen	19	3.56		14.05	— 6.9
Factory operatives	231	43.34		29.44	+ 6.9
Domestic services	3	.56		.18	+ 2.0
Services other than domestic	20	3.75		6.65	— 2.7
Farm laborers	2	.38		.39	0.0
Other laborers	179	33.58		11.00	+ 16.1
W.P.A.	32	6.00		4.72	+ 1.4
Others	—	—		.34	—
Total	533	99.98			

* The + and — signs are used to indicate the direction of the difference.

³ The test of significance was based on the hypothesis that the true difference between sample and population is zero. If the difference between the hypothetical value and the observed value in units of the standard error correspond to the probability of 1/100 or 2/576, the results are not consistent with the hypothesis and the difference is clearly significant. The following formulae were used after F. C. Mills, *Statistical Methods* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), p. 471 and p. 484.

$$T = \frac{\frac{D - Q}{\sigma_D}}{\frac{P}{\sigma_P}} \quad \text{wherein } \sigma = \frac{P_0 Q_0}{P} \left\{ \frac{1}{N} + \frac{1}{N} \right\}$$

A study of Table 1 reveals that significantly fewer fathers of delinquents were represented in the classifications of the professions, proprietors, clerical and sales workers, craftsmen, and services other than domestic; significantly larger numbers were found coming from occupational groups including factory operatives and other laborers. No other significant differences were noted.

TABLE 2

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF MOTHERS OF PASSAIC DELINQUENTS
AS COMPARED TO GENERAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1940 CENSUS

<i>Occupational Classification</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Mothers Per Cent</i>	<i>1940 Census Females Per Cent</i>	<i>T</i>
Professional workers	—	—	8.26	— 4.2
Semiprofessional	—	—	.38	— 0.9
Proprietors	4	2.05	2.56	— 0.4
Clerical, sales	22	11.28	21.72	— 3.5
Craftsmen	—	—	1.28	— 1.6
Factory operatives	102	52.31	48.29	+ 1.1
Domestic services	44	22.56	8.83	+ 6.6
Services other than domestic	9	4.62	4.62	0.0
Farm laborers	—	—	.06	— 0.4
Other laborers	2	1.03	1.82	— 0.8
W.P.A.	12	6.15	1.69	+ 3.2
Others	—	—	.49	
Total	195	100.00	100.00	

An examination of Table 2 reveals that significantly fewer mothers of delinquents were to be found in the professional workers group, and clerical and sales classification; significantly larger numbers were uncovered in the domestic services and the W.P.A. group.

Since this group of delinquents and predelinquents represent all cases referred to an easily accessible child-study agency by the schools, social and recreational agencies, police, parents, and other individuals with complaints, they more nearly include all children

past five years, a careful check was made of the occupational classification of the delinquents' parents. The occupational distribution of the fathers and mothers of these delinquents was then compared with the distribution of all male and female workers in the community according to the 1940 Census. Tests of significance² of the observed differences between proportions within the delinquent sample and the general population were applied. The results are presented in the following tables.

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Since this group of delinquents and predelinquents represent all cases referred to an easily accessible child-study agency by the schools, social and recreational agencies, police, parents, and other individuals with complaints, they more nearly include all children

showing the delinquent-aggression pattern than would a delinquent group defined in terms of those who make a court appearance. Hence it is expected that the usual "screening" was not in operation in this community to the extent that it is usually found working in the average industrial city. That it was operating to some unknown degree, of course, cannot be denied. Because of the nature of the *Children's Bureau set-up and the extensive use made of the Bureau's facilities by the various organizations, agencies, and individuals*, it is felt that the screening that might ordinarily account for fewer referrals from the upper classes was not as fine as is the usual case in the average community.⁸

Recapitulation. Most behavior has been shown by various writers and investigators to conform and to follow patterns according to class position in the higher, middle, or lower social levels in a community. The manner in which the parent earns his living is one of the strongest determinants, but by no means the only one, of this class position.

The Passaic data gathered on 761 delinquents reveal that significantly fewer parents of the sample population were earning their living in the professions, by working as proprietors, clerks and sales personnel, craftsmen, and in services other than domestic. At the same time, significantly larger proportions were found to come from the factory operatives, W.P.A., other laborers, and domestic services. It should be noted that these latter groups represent the economically and socially frustrated classes. It is highly probable that delinquent-aggression has its roots in the conflicts and frustrations that take place in the lower lower, upper lower, lower middle and to some extent the upper middle classes which are made up largely by families who earn their living in the manner of the parents of the Passaic delinquents.

⁸ Other data concerning these 761 cases bear this out. See W. C. Kvaraceus, "The Role of the School in the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency."

BOOK REVIEWS

Man and His Habitation, by RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Foreword by B. Sahní. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1940, 320 pages.

This treatise will appeal to all persons seriously interested in rural and city ecology, in social and economic planning, and in the description of country, town, and city contrasts, especially in India.

Unfortunately, no photographs or maps accompany the written text.

In style, this book is a series of complete, lucid, stately sentences. It may be that the best social-science English prose is formulated in the contemplative mind of a man of India! The author's conclusions are as sound as his method of presentation is praiseworthy.

The effects of industrialism upon personalities and social institutions in India climaxes the descriptions of sparse and dense rural settlements.

Genes and the Man, by BENTLEY GLASS. New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1943, 386 pages.

Some years ago Professor S. Ralph Powers set out to reorganize the basic fields of science into a more integrated and better oriented pattern. His intent was to make available to the young teachers of science a more suitable collation of content and thereby increase their effectiveness in attaining the social objectives of science instruction. The fifth book in the series edited by him *Genes and the Man* by Bentley Glass brings together much of the newer knowledge of reproduction, embryology, growth, heredity, and aging of the human. It is technically adequate for the teaching scientist and still a book that can be read by the interested layman. It should certainly fulfill the function for which it was intended.

Germany Will Try It Again, by SIGRID SCHULTZ. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1944, 238 pages.

The gossipy chit-chat character of much of Sigrid Schultz's interpretation of her quarter-century of reportage from Berlin tempts the reviewer to judge *Germany Will Try It Again* a superficial book. Nevertheless, in spite of the hostile orientation toward the mythical entity "Germany",

implicit in the title, the author has unconsciously painted a larger and more discriminating picture. The vignettes of which it is composed indict men and women of post-World-War I—not Germans alone, but also Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans. Even these men were not all bad either, she implies; at times and under stresses they acted evilly and unwisely—against their own long-term self-interests as it proved.

That emotionally unstable, avaricious, ambitious, unreflective individuals, and the institutions they may dominate, "will try it again"—as they have already tried it again and again through all human history—is the lesson that should be drawn from this book. Eternal vigilance, at home as well as abroad, is the price of liberty. Madness and bestiality are potentialities in human nature; economic chaos favors their dominance; Germany is a tragic example; but it could have happened in France or in England or in America. Germanophobia is dangerous if it averts our attention from our own economic and political instability and its potential psychic counterparts.

Secondary Schools for American Youth, by L. A. WILLIAMS. New York: American Book Company, 1944, 531 pages.

The first third of Williams's text for upper division college students preparing to teach in high schools provides a succinct historical background for understanding the modern school. Succeeding chapters deal with objectives, curriculum organization, classroom procedures, appraisal, guidance, and health of pupils, class management, objective aids to instruction, student activities, and the continuing problems of youth. The book fulfills its purpose; it provides a sound orientation for the beginning teacher of youth both to the school institution and to young people whom he would help.

The Child at Home and School, by EDITH M. LEONARD, LILLIAN E. MILES, and CATHERINE S. VAN DER KAR. New York: American Book Company, 1942, 850 pages.

This book makes a definite contribution to educational psychology in that it is interesting, rich in material, illustrative, and easily understood. The various types of development such as the mental, physical, motor-manipulative, social-emotional, and aesthetic growth are discussed. Problems are created and are then developed by excellent solutions. The

child's concepts of God, death, sex, and Santa Claus are adequately dealt with so that the child suffers no embarrassment or disillusionment. There is a great deal of explanation in relation to the teacher's duties in careful planning of a school curriculum, the subjects, and several methods of teaching including an elastic program. Without a doubt, this book aids the teaching profession in that it gives superb information regarding the child's mind and its relation to any form of education whether it is derived from the mother or the teacher

Discovering Ourselves: A View of the Human Mind and How It Works, by EDWARD A. STRECKER, KENNETH E. APPEL, and JOHN W. APPEL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, 434 pages.

The title is a significant one, for this book fulfills the promise made in it. Students, educators, and nonprofessional people can discover themselves, can come to an understanding of their inner selves and of the emotions playing such a big part in their habits of thinking and living, by reading this book. The book is based on sound scholarship and at the same time its dynamic style is attractive to the layman's as well as the professional person's mind. This edition is well organized, gives a clear-cut picture of the field of mental hygiene, and should be of assistance to patients and those people who are living under the great tensions created by this war.

The book is in two parts. The first part describes the relationship between body and mind, gives definitions of psychological concepts, and clears up the popular misconceptions of complexes. Constructive and destructive complexes are discussed, and the three great complexes, ego, sex, and herd, are analyzed at length. There are three excellent chapters on the emotions, the first chapter a general discussion, the two following ones have more specific discussions of fear and anger. This section should help every one in understanding the part emotions play in this war, and is well adapted for understanding by nonprofessional people.

Part II devotes a chapter to each phase of the mental adaptations which people make in meeting conflicts. Each chapter shows the positive contribution as well as the negative one which is made by the use of adjustment mechanism, and many examples aid in making the points realistic. Thirteen ways of meeting conflicts are discussed and the dangers which attend the exaggerated use of these ways are indicated. The therapies given emphasize the theme—"Because the emotions constitute

such powerful driving forces, both for good and evil, they must be guided into outlets which afford release and satisfaction to the individual, and which find acceptance and utilization by the group."

Unlike the usual graphs that can be read only by a statistician, the diagrams in this book are novel in form and are immediately understandable. There is an appendix at the back of the book which contains questions of review on each chapter.

The book should help stimulate the need for an understanding of the inner self in order to unite body and mind into a whole functioning personality, and should be of use to those people suffering from handicaps and maladjustments, and to those who are striving to prevent such conditions in others.

Children's Reactions to a Contemporary War Situation, by RALPH C. PRESTON. New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1942, 96 pages.

The purpose of this study was to analyze the reactions of children to a foreign war situation and to describe the impact of large-scale adult social activity upon selected American children. The conflict current at the time of the study (1940) offered an unusual opportunity to explore such activity. Two devices were used to obtain the children's reactions—the formal group test and the personal interview. This study showed that war children are captivated by and tend to inform themselves of the dramatic and lean toward the spectacular (violence and atrocities such as the sinking of ships and so on), whereas they trip over, do not grasp, or have misinformation about specific or documented knowledge.

The children freely expressed their attitude toward the war. Their degree of partisanship varied but there was evidence to show that this attitude was far short of general acceptance of blind partisanship. Attitudes toward the institution of war were also noted—emphasizing causes of war, importance of leadership, and desire to undertake military service.

Many of the findings were treated statistically in order to make possible comparisons between groups differing in age, sex, I.Q., and so on.

According to Mr. Preston there are two main implications of this study. (1) There can be little justification for expecting children in heterogeneous school groups to show similar degrees of interest in or performance with current events material; (2) It is questionable whether it is reasonable to require children of twelve years or younger to engage in

systematic, detailed study of large-scale social undertakings that do not impinge directly upon their experience.

Relaxation, by JOSEPHINE L. RATHBONE. New York. Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1943, 157 pages.

This little volume, written by an expert, deals with a very timely topic. With a war raging in many parts of the world, increased tensions resulting from a speeded-up production in industry, and disrupted home life, a very real need exists for a therapy that will bring relief. This book offers a realistic approach for recuperation and revitalization from strenuous living.

There are chapters on Concern About Tension, Signs of Tension, Physical Factors in Fatigue, Psychological Factors in Fatigue, Physical Methods of Treatment, and Psychological Methods of Treatment.

The contents reflect a fine integration of materials from physical education, health, sociology, philosophy, and mental hygiene.

New Schools for a New Culture, by CHARLES M. MACCONNELL, ERNEST O. MELBY, and CHRISTIAN O. ARNDT. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943, 229 pages.

If the reader can avoid the plural implication in the title of this book, and read it as a case-study presentation of one new school seeking to meet the demands of its present culture, he will find this a most helpful and challenging book. There is plenty in educational literature urging educators to break away from outworn conventional patterns; there is lamentably little furnishing guidance for the establishing of the new. The authors' reporting of the planning and working of the New School, a part of Evanston Township High School, is sufficiently explicit for the most puzzled and unimaginative. Perhaps the best chapter is VI: The New School: Questions and Objections, where most of the stock criticisms of the new education are examined and answered.

Curriculum Principles and Social Trends, by J. MINOR GWYNN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, 630 pages.

Here is obviously a textbook for use at the college level in classes in schools of education. The excellent bibliographies in classified form, and the lists of problems for individual study and class discussion which accompany each chapter would make that apparent, even if the content did

not. For those schools of education which have courses in principles of education and are in need of new texts a thorough examination of this book is commended. The emphasis all the way through it is upon curriculum revision. Here will be found some history of education, some educational sociology, some psychology, and a great deal of research and reporting of educational experimentation and practice in the area of curriculum, both at the elementary and the secondary levels. Indeed, the range is so great that the treatment of any specific item in the writer's outline is superficial, in the sense of requiring further study for a full understanding. Perhaps in a textbook of this sort, this is as it should be.

The Education of Nurses, by ISABEL MAITLAND STEWART. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943, 399 pages.

In this book Professor Stewart has set herself the task of writing an introductory survey "for professional students and workers in the field of nursing education" and of providing "a general orientation for non-nursing groups" such as "board members and administrative officers in hospitals, nursing service agencies, higher educational institutions; members of State and other accrediting bodies; interested individuals in the allied professions of medicine, public health, and education, parents and friends of student and graduate nurses; responsible government officials and public spirited citizens." Difficult and imposing as is such an undertaking, Professor Stewart has been remarkably successful in attaining her objective.

The first half of this book is a compact and critical discussion of the historical development of nursing. Unlike older, traditional histories of nursing, which tended to overwork the romantic approach, Professor Stewart's treatment draws a clear distinction between permanent values and temporary human limitations. The influence on nursing of the social forces at work in this country between 1913 and 1933, the economic collapse of 1929 and the depression that followed this collapse, and the conditions that eventuated in the present world conflict are depicted before the reader as a vast panorama with master strokes. The bewildered curiosity aroused in the reader by this realistic picture of his world is satisfied by the author's courageous predictions concerning future trends. Professor Stewart believes that in the future "there will be more rapid changes than the race has ever seen before," "that the pace of life will be swifter," and "that society is in for fundamental readjustments in organization."

Although many people are looking forward to things settling down

after the war, Professor Stewart sees "no rest for the life-saving professions." Many duties long regarded by nurses as theirs by tradition will be transferred to other professional workers and new responsibilities will be added. "Nursing staffs will increase in size" Professor Stewart believes, "and be connected more and more with official or governmental agencies. Trends toward collective undertakings in health work are leading us toward more medical, hospital, and health centers, as well as more consolidated schools and colleges, and other forms of collective effort."

In the concluding chapters of this book, the author considers the democratic philosophy of nursing education and the development of leadership in the nursing profession. Professor Stewart urges that particular emphasis be placed upon the identification, selection, and professional development of individuals who possess the qualities for leadership, because "the future of nursing education depends in large degree on the leaders of today and on those who are now preparing for leadership." At the close of each chapter there are suggested problems for study and discussion and also suggested references for additional reading. These aids will be found both useful and stimulating by students and by teachers who will want to use this book as a text. The book's usefulness in the classroom is further enhanced by an excellent index.

Russia and The United States, by PYTRIM A. SOROKIN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1944, 253 pages.

Professor Sorokin has a rich background from which to interpret Russian-American relations. He was born and reared within the lowest classes and rose through the social strata to a professorship in the University of St. Petersburg and eventually to a post in Kerenski's cabinet. He participated in the revolution and subsequently had to flee the country for safety. In the United States he taught at the University of Minnesota and at present is chairman of the department of sociology at Harvard University.

The author believes that one of the miracles of this civilization has been the 150 years of unbroken peaceful relations between the United States and Russia. He attributes this to several factors—both countries are vast continents and demanded the qualities of the pioneer in their development, both countries show unity in diversity, thereby showing strength because of their differences; both countries were developed through relatively peaceful means. He then compares the social institutions of the two countries and makes the case that they are much more alike than the propaganda of the past two decades would have us believe.

The moral influence of each of these nations upon the other has been profound. America contributed ideas of freedom and liberty and Russia contributed to the development of esthetic tastes of America.

Sorokin believes the Communist pattern is disappearing in Russia—just as the capitalist pattern is disappearing in the United States. His panacea for world peace demands an international organization, a reintegration of basic values, and the universalizing of norms of conduct. The contribution of the book lies in the treatment of the data about the two countries, rather than in his guess about what would bring everlasting peace.

Common Cause, by G. A. BORGESE. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943, 448 pages.

In this important book, Professor Borgese, writing in distinguished and passionate prose, gives a penetrating interpretation of the present global war. He describes its background, the attitudes and policies of the nations involved, including those of the Papacy, the present outlook, and, finally, he discusses the problematical future of mankind.

The modern world, he points out, is confronted with three choices. Will the earth become one vast empire, ruled in the centuries old fashion of empire? Will there, instead, be created a world republic, free of the dangerous divisions of race, color, and creed? Or will the postwar world once again turn to chaos and despair?

Professor Borgese's liberal plea at the end of his book is for the common man to become aroused and seek universal deliverance by truly entering the fight and by joining in a common cause of faith to smash demofascism to secure the enemy's "unconditional surrender."

Handbook of Tabular Presentation, by RAY OVID HALL. New York. Ronald Press Company, 1943, 112 pages.

The planning and construction of statistical tables is an art which, all too seldom, is well executed. As indicated by the subtitle, this manual is designed as a guide for those who have occasion to edit such tables as well as for those who make them.

The text is well divided into three parts. Part I deals with the basic "principles of tabular criticism" as applied to titles, numbering, headnotes, stubs, captions, footnotes, citations, and miscellaneous considerations. In Part II, there is a systematic presentation of thirteen tables with detailed criticisms and suggestions for planning and improved exhibit in

each case. Practice exercises and problems are freely given in Part III, chiefly in the way of editing and revising the more or less crude examples of tables here exhibited.

The author's experience as an editor of statistical abstracts insures the practical value of the manual. It is a real contribution which should be thoroughly studied by all who engage in the making or publishing of statistical reports.

Health for the Having, by WILLIAM R. P. EMERSON. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1944, 146 pages.

Nearly every person at work professionally in the field of health education has felt the need for a manual of authoritative information concerning health which could be put into the hands of the general public. Dr. Emerson's book is just such a book. Here presented in lucid, nontechnical language is the information required by all persons who desire to correct faulty habits, to develop desirable ones, and to maintain the physical fitness which is the foundation of all life's activities. The importance of the physical examination, problems of underweight and of overweight, the intelligent adjustment of the diet to the physical requirements of the individual, and the efficient budgeting of time are typical of the areas given clear and vitalized treatment by Dr. Emerson. The appendix, containing lists of one hundred calorie portions of foods and detailed tables of weight and height, is a welcome and most useful part of this work. The excellent index extends still further this book's range of usefulness. The reviewer predicts a broad and enthusiastic acceptance for this vigorous and original contribution to the literature of health education.

Ambassador to Industry, the Idea and Life of Herman Schneider, by CLYDE W. PARK. New York. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943, 324 pages.

This biography of Herman Schneider serves the threefold purpose of providing a complete history of the growth of the engineering school at the University of Cincinnati, of presenting a stimulating life story of an American through the eventful four decades of this century, and of showing the mushroom development of Herman Schneider's idea, which was the cooperative engineering college program.

In this publication, cooperative courses, since their inception at the University of Cincinnati in 1906, are given considerable space. This could

be expected since Herman Schneider's life story is really the story of cooperative education.

Because of the many varied interests which this educator was able to weave into a most complete career, his biography becomes even more than a counselor's reference text.

Here in a single volume we receive a picture of a man, a sample of his role as a poet, a teller of stories, and a practical philosopher. Mr. Park, the author, has shown striking skill in presenting so many sided an individual in so brief a treatment.

Lives Around Us, by ALAN DEVOE New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1942, 221 pages

So-called nature stories written for the layman are often scientifically accurate but deficient as literature, or they make excellent reading but include unsubstantiated and careless statements of science. Many of them are neither good science nor good literature. It is seldom that one encounters a book that indicates both factual exactitude and fine writing. Devoe's *Lives Around Us* is such a book. Its twenty separate incidents are told with all the familiarity of a close scholar and with the easy flow of words of the artist.

Handling Personality Adjustments in Industry, by ROBERT N. McMURRAY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, 297 pages

The author writes for "top management" from the prospective of experiences as a rank and file employee, with a consulting practice in industrial relations and the professional background of a psychologist. The emphasis is upon "qualitative, subjective and clinical techniques" with simplifying examples in an industrial setting. It frankly pioneers from a psychological and psychiatric approach. Broad employee interests are assumed, suggestions are offered for selection techniques, maladjusted workers, and industrial training personnel methods. A reasonable degree of objectivity is required if the suggested selection procedure is applied.

Food for thought is contained herein for those willing to discard the expensive "rule-of-thumb" selection methods. A case is built up for personnel research departments as profitable for large companies. The same is suggested for smaller ones on a cooperative basis.

In postwar thinking this book places as easy to understand, stimulating, and a challenge to provocative thinking for those who disagree.

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INTRODUCTION

Until the war is won, the spotlight must be focused on the process of building, training, and equipping our armed forces. Nothing can be allowed to detract from the concentration of national energy necessary to win a complete victory over the enemy at the earliest possible moment. The army of production must take its place along with the armed forces in this concentrated effort. Nevertheless, as we recruit and train a powerful Army and Navy, and as war production goes forward without interruption, serious thought must be given to the many problems involved in the readjustment of the returning veteran.

More than 11,000,000 men and women are now serving in the armed forces. Approximately 1,250,000 have been separated from service. The number of men and women needed for the armed forces in the future will depend upon the length of the war, the casualties, and any additional requirements of the Army and Navy to increase their present strength.

Because the satisfactory readjustment of the returning veteran will be so very important and the problems so complicated, the leaders of industry, business, labor, education, government, social agencies, religious groups, and veterans' organizations will have much to contribute. It is encouraging to observe that progress has

already been made by the leaders of these groups, but, because of the fast tempo of the war, careful and extensive plans must be developed immediately.

The task of readjusting the veteran at the end of this war will be at least three times as great as it was in 1918-1919. In the first place, the numbers involved will be three times or more greater than at the end of World War I, in the second place, the men and women in the armed forces will have been away from school, their jobs, families, and friends much longer; and, in the third place, the 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 war workers to be readjusted will be far greater than those in similar work in World War I.

When the global war ends, the men and women who have been in service will have a number of opportunities. Some will want to remain in service. Large groups of the younger men and women especially will wish to resume their education and training. Thousands will return to their old jobs, while many others will seek new employment. Some veterans will want to engage in farming and business, and others will be interested in the professions. A very large number of veterans will need hospitalization and rehabilitation before they can be returned to gainful employment. The most critical group requiring readjustment will be the two to three million men and women in the younger age groups who never had permanent positions.

This issue of the JOURNAL is dedicated to the readjustment of the veteran to civilian life. The several contributors have discussed the various phases of this important subject. They have stressed the need for jobs, education, rehabilitation and training, counseling and satisfactory adjustment to old and new jobs, and the various roles which government, industry, and community agencies will play in this readjustment. It is to be regretted that space is not available to record the programs already developed by various other governmental agencies, or organizations, and interested groups.

As editor of this issue, I wish to express my appreciation to those who, under pressure of many other important duties, have made this symposium possible. The articles will be of great interest and value to those concerned with veterans' readjustment.

JOHN N. ANDREWS

WANTED: SEVEN TO TEN MILLION NEW POSTWAR JOBS

A Brief Description of the Program
of the Committee for Economic Development

Paul G. Hoffman

Chairman, Committee for Economic Development

Returning veterans, Selective Service, the armed forces, and the Committee for Economic Development have a strong common interest in one very important subject—postwar jobs. The individual veteran is interested in *one* job, the one he is going to fill after victory. The C.E.D. is interested in *seven to ten million* jobs, which seem to be the number of new peacetime jobs we will need for a prosperous postwar economy. But the difference in number does not denote a difference of interest in the kind of postwar job we want. Both the veteran and C.E.D. think that the kind of new jobs we need after the war are productive jobs that result in more goods and services for people to use, and that they should be well-paid jobs so that we may continue to have a high and rising American standard of living. We in the C.E.D. have been thinking about those needed postwar jobs for more than two years, and in the paragraphs that follow I should like to tell you some of the things that are being done about them.

In the fall of 1942, when the Committee for Economic Development was first started, the war news was very bleak. It seemed a long way to V-Day. But it was already evident that by V-Day our economy would be so expanded and so changed from its familiar prewar shape that some very carefully laid and realistic plans would be required to "put it back together again." It was also clear that this "reconversion" could not mean simply "going back" to where we were. Employment conditions prevailing in 1940 were far from satisfactory. There were from six to nine million unemployed, and since 1940 several millions have been added to our labor force.

Thus the C.E.D., which is a private, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization of businessmen formed for the single purpose of stimulating postwar planning, set as its first objective the encouraging of the nation's 2,000,000 individual employers to make bold, smart, forward-looking postwar plans which would not only enable them to reconvert, when the time came, but also to expand their operations and thus create more new productive jobs.

To do this job the C.E.D. set out to encourage local businessmen and community leaders in towns and cities throughout the country to organize community C.E.D. committees of their own. Each of these local committees was asked to take on the responsibility for stimulating and assisting the employers in its own town to do the sort of individual planning that would provide useful constructive jobs for the veterans of that community when they got back.

To date more than 2,000 communities have C.E.D. committees, of which more than 50,000 local businessmen are members. One of the first jobs that each of these committees is asked to do is to find out by careful surveys: (1) how many jobs there were locally in 1940; (2) how many there are now; and (3) how many jobs private employers are planning for after the war. The results of these surveys are, in most communities, very encouraging. While they can only show what employers in each locality expect to do, they do give the community committee a gauge to judge whether local planning sights have been set high enough to provide the jobs that will be needed. In any case, the survey is just the starting place. Local C.E.D. committees seek next to get local employers to take into account in their postwar planning such concrete factors as: reconversion problems; recruiting and training postwar personnel; credit and financial needs for expansion; new products and designs; with particular attention to the "special" problems of small business.

That these community committees are getting "down to the grass roots" in tackling their local planning job, and that they are getting results, is evidenced by the reports we get back from the field. In Worcester, Massachusetts, the C.E.D., in cooperation

with the Chamber of Commerce, is concentrating local planning on "helping small businesses grow bigger." To do this they have set up an Industrial Bureau from which small enterprisers can obtain the expert assistance of: (1) a specialist in accounting and production problems; (2) a professional adviser on product engineering and sales; (3) a competent foreign trade expert. These men, whose salaries are paid by the Bureau, will be in a position to give small businessmen in Worcester technical and professional assistance and advice which, individually, they could not afford. In addition, the Bureau will supply regular information services on such things as advertising and promotion, afford research and patenting assistance, and act as a sales representative for local Worcester products.

Richmond, Virginia, on the other hand, has found that one of its major postwar planning problems is going to be the assisting and counseling of veterans who want to go into business for themselves. To do this they have set up a "Richmond Business Clinic." This is also a joint C.E.D.—Chamber of Commerce program, which works as follows: Whenever demobilized servicemen, calling at either the *Richmond United States Employment Service* or the *Veteran's Placement Bureau*, indicate a desire to go into business for themselves, they are referred to the Business Clinic at the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. They are also given a small pamphlet to read that consists of (1) twelve very realistic questions which any man thinking of going into business might well ask himself, and (2) ten items of good advice on such practical matters as sound credit, careful record keeping, and related problems. If, after reading this booklet, which was prepared by the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, the serviceman still believes he has what it takes to go into business, he calls at the Business Clinic. Here he first talks to a three-man panel of experienced local businessmen drawn from a revolving group of volunteers. They talk over in detail with the serviceman his experience, incentives, his choice of a business, and some of the other problems involved.

If, on the strength of this interview, the panel thinks the serviceman is qualified to undertake the business venture he has in mind, or some other business agreed upon, he is then scheduled to meet with a second group of businessmen in the special field which he wishes to enter, e.g., garage, retail store, restaurant, insurance, appliance dealer. Those who are not considered sufficiently qualified, after this first general interview, to undertake a business venture are then referred to a file of employment opportunities and manpower requirements maintained by the 167 member firms of the Richmond Sales Executive Club, plus other cooperating companies. If possible, the man is placed in a line of work where he can gain additional experience pointing toward going into business for himself later on. As for those showing definite promise and good qualifications for Richmond small businessmen, after they have met with the panel of advisers in their own chosen field, and have passed muster with these more specialized advisers, they are then referred successively to banking representatives, in order to establish the necessary line of credit, and then to a real-estate advisory group, which assists each prospective new businessman in obtaining the proper location with respect to rent, budget, his market, and other factors.

Each of the steps in this Richmond Business Clinic is handled in a realistic and progressive manner. In summary, the three phases of the program are: (1) to seek out the facts—the real qualifications and sincerity of the applicant; (2) to give not only encouragement but definite working advice and assistance to those servicemen who are felt to be qualified to go into business for themselves, and (3) to discourage those who are not yet qualified, thus saving a potential business failure; but to assist these latter candidates to find jobs in which they will gain more experience aiming toward businesses for themselves later.

Worcester and Richmond are only two out of many communities which have taken realistic steps to tie their postwar planning "down

to the facts." Genesee County, New York, as a further example, has contacted every man and woman from that county in the armed services to find out what his or her individual postwar plans are, so that local job planning can be guided accordingly. A Florida C.E.D. committee in a primarily agricultural area has spark-plugged local plans to acquire a big military airport as an "air freight center" from which to ship their postwar produce

Once local initiative has been aroused and organized, community postwar plans sometimes take unexpected turns but they are all aimed, in the final analysis, toward one goal—postwar jobs. Not every community nor every employer has been aroused to the needs or the responsibilities of making bold, aggressive postwar plans, but the number of good examples of those who have is mounting rapidly. We will be far better prepared for postwar this time, in spite of the far greater magnitude of the job, than we were in 1918.

We are aware this time, also, that postwar plans by individual employers are not enough in themselves. The number of jobs and the relative prosperity of the economy are dependent also on a number of broad factors beyond the control of individual businessmen. Postwar tax policies, provisions for war-contract termination, removal of wartime controls over production and distribution, regulation of credit, foreign trade, etc., all will have a bearing on the success or failure of all postwar planning. The C.E.D. has concerned itself with this "second front" of postwar planning through its Research Division. Under this part of the C.E.D. program, a Research Committee of businessmen, aided and counseled by a Research Advisory Board of economists and social scientists, has sponsored research by eminently qualified experts on a score of these major economic problems. This research program has been under way for more than a year and a half, and is now producing concrete results in the form of published reports, setting forth up-to-date factual material as well as policy recommendations on the specific problems studied. All C.E.D. research, by direction of the

Committee's by-laws, is done "from the standpoint of the general welfare and not from that of any special political or economic group."

"Postwar" is a relative term. As each successive day's reports from the fighting fronts move the lines of battle nearer to final victory, the time for making postwar plans grows shorter. Plans made after victory will be makeshift plans at best.

In rowing, as the straining oarsmen near the finish line, the coxswain leans forward and yells, "Give it twenty." That means pull those last twenty strokes with all you've got.

That's our cue for postwar planning from now until V-Day.

EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION OF RETURNING VETERANS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROVISIONS OF PUBLIC LAWS 16 AND 346

Brigadier General Frank T. Hines

*Administrator of Veterans Affairs and Administrator of Retraining
and Reemployment, Office of War Mobilization*

When the war ends we shall have a conversion problem which has never been equaled in the history of this country. Millions of people will have to change their jobs. These include not only those engaged in the final fabrication of munitions but those who will be displaced from overexpanded raw materials and parts industries. Include those who will be displaced in civilian industries by the return of old employees from munitions industries as well as the armed services. Some of those released will be wartime workers who will not want a new job; but many of them will be individuals whose first job was in a munitions plant. Others who were formerly unskilled workers will have shown themselves capable of doing more skilled work but will have no specific experience in skills needed in civilian industry. Into this situation will come ten million returning soldiers also seeking peacetime jobs and retraining for these jobs. One fifth of these will have had little or no civilian work experience. Perhaps a third to a half will have had their educational plans interrupted. Some will be disabled. Month after month the stream of job seekers released from wartime activity, many requiring training for civilian work, will be renewed. Before the transition to peace is fully accomplished, as much as a third of the working force of the country is likely to need to be engaged in a different kind of activity than it was engaged in during the war.

As a consequence of the seriousness of the situation, there is more constructive thinking going on today on economic, social, and educational problems than has occurred in any equal period before. Some of it is being put into effect. In addition to other conversion

legislation, the Seventy-eighth Congress has already passed two bills providing among other things education and training for veterans. These acts represent tremendous *progress in the treatment of veterans*. We are better equipped for handling the situation of the returning veteran of this war than we have been in any previous war. These laws covering the rights of veterans are outstanding pieces of social legislation and may be regarded as explicit public recognition of the importance of our human resources and of human values generally. This legislation, however, only sets a framework for the constructive activity which is to follow. There remains the problem of implementation. In the educational field this will depend upon our schools and other training facilities and the wisdom and resourcefulness of the educators of our country.

Public Law 16 for the rehabilitation of disabled veterans, and Public Law 346 known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, provide the most extensive educational opportunity on an adult level ever sponsored by any government. The purpose of this legislation is to readjust our service men and women occupationally and to enable them to recapture educational advantages lost by reason of entrance into the armed services.

Aside from the fact that this educational opportunity is a matter of justice to those who were forced to forgo their educational plans in order to serve their country or to readjust themselves occupationally, the experiment of equalizing educational opportunity on the higher levels for a representative cross section of all classes of society is an arresting innovation which should have far-reaching effects. Many who might otherwise never have received a college education will receive one now.

There is no way of exactly estimating how many returned soldiers will avail themselves of the educational opportunities represented by this legislation. We know, however, that approximately five million of our enlisted men are twenty-five years of age and under. We also know that for the Army as a whole approximately 36 per cent are eligible for higher education. However, some of

these men will be married and will have other responsibilities and those over twenty-five are not likely to continue their education. Everything considered and judging from experience in adult education and from studies made by the Information and Education Division of the Army Service Forces, it is estimated, very roughly of course, that the number who will avail themselves of the opportunity for education at Government expense will be about a million, or even as high as a million and a half. Much will depend upon the excellence and suitability of the education or training available and other factors. If jobs are plentiful, the number availing themselves of educational opportunities will be probably less than a million. If jobs are scarce and there is considerable unemployment, perhaps a million and a half will be in the educational program contemplated by this legislation. This estimate, of course, does not include the large number who will be taking short refresher and retraining courses as a part of their induction into industry.

One factor which must be considered in estimating the number who will undertake training is the educational level of the men in our armed services. According to estimates based on studies made by the Information and Education Division of the Army, 14 per cent are college men, including 3 per cent who are graduates, 52 per cent are high-school men, of which number almost half are graduates. The remainder, or 34 per cent, are on the grade-school level. As compared with men in World War I, 80 per cent of whom were on the grade-school level, this is a remarkable showing in increased education. The armed forces of the United States are probably the best educated the world has ever seen. The chances are, therefore, that a fair proportion of these men will be taking training of some sort, for those who have education usually seek more of it.

The government program for the education and training of veterans may be most conveniently discussed under the provisions of Public Law 346 and Public Law 16.

According to Public Law 346, otherwise known as the G. I. Bill

of Rights, men and women who have had ninety days of active service since September 16, 1940, exclusive of time spent in education under the Army Specialized Training Program or the Navy's College Training Program, who were discharged under conditions other than dishonorable and whose education was interrupted by reason of entrance into the services or who desire a refresher or retraining course, may receive one year of education or training in an institution of their choice or in on-the-job training in industry, and additional education or training not to exceed the length of time spent in the service exclusive of the time of the specialized training just mentioned, provided they remain successful in their studies according to the standards of the institution giving the training.

Any one twenty-five or under at the time of entering the service will be presumed to have had his or her education interrupted or interfered with by the war. Those over twenty-five at the time of entrance will be required to present *evidence in proof of such interruption* if they desire to pursue courses of education or training beyond the one year to which all are entitled.

The law provides that application for training must be made within two years after discharge from the service or after the termination of the present war, whichever is the later, and that training may not extend beyond four years for any individual or beyond seven years after the termination of the war.

The Act provides freedom of educational opportunity without interference of any kind. The Veterans Administration exercises no control or supervision over either the institutions or the educational process. Any eligible person is entitled to such course of education or training as he may elect at any approved educational or training institution in which he chooses to enroll, whether or not located in the State in which he resides, which will accept or retain him as a student or trainee, and he may be taken out of training only if it is found by the Administrator of Veterans Affairs that,

according to the regularly prescribed standards and practices of the institution, the conduct or progress of such person is unsatisfactory.

The Veterans Administration will pay to institutions giving training to veterans under these provisions the customary cost of tuition, including laboratory fees and the cost of books and supplies and such other necessary expenses, exclusive of board, lodging, and travel, as are regularly required of other students in the institution, up to \$500.00 for an ordinary school year. No payments, however, may be made to industrial establishments and similar facilities providing training on the job. Tools, books, and equipment provided for training will be released to those successfully completing a course of training.

While enrolled in and pursuing a course, the qualified individual will be paid by the Veterans Administration a subsistence allowance of \$50.00 a month if he or she is without dependents, and \$75.00 a month if he or she has a dependent or dependents, including regular holidays and leave not exceeding thirty days in a calendar year. The individual taking a part-time course will be paid lesser sums accordingly.

A guidance service is furnished and is available but its acceptance on the part of any individual is entirely voluntary. Individuals may secure educational and vocational guidance and counseling either at an educational institution of their choice, or at guidance centers of the Veterans Administration set up in its regional offices, or in special centers in colleges and other institutions.

Public Law 346 provides, in addition to education, hospital facilities; loans for homes, farms, or businesses; and other benefits. Educational benefits are only a part, but a very important part of the law.

The other Act, Public Law 16, extends the rehabilitation activities of the Veterans Administration to provide for a program to last for six years after the termination of the present war, during which period a veteran, man or woman, with a pensionable disability may

receive training up to four years specifically aimed at the restoration of employability.

To be eligible for such training, the veteran must have been in the active military or naval service at any time after September 16, 1940, and during the present war; must have been discharged under circumstances other than dishonorable; must have a disability incurred in or aggravated by such service for which a pension is payable under laws administered by the Veterans Administration, or would be but for receipt of retirement pay, and must be in need of vocational rehabilitation to overcome the handicap caused by such service-connected disability.

Previous to entrance upon a training program the disabled veteran must undergo a process of advisement in which his abilities and disabilities are considered in relation to his adjustment in an occupation. The guidance process takes into consideration his education, previous vocational training, present skills and aptitudes, and his interests and personal desires, the object being adjustment of the individual in an occupation that will maximize his abilities and make minimal demands on his disability, which will be suited to him, and in which, when his training is completed, he will be at no disadvantage in competition with others.

After the advisement is completed and an occupational objective has been selected from among several that have been considered, training is carried out by means of existing educational agencies selected for the purpose, and as far as possible in the region of the veteran's residence. The cost of training, including tuition, equipment, supplies, and transportation, is borne by the Veterans Administration.

During the period of training and for two months thereafter, the veteran if single receives a pension of \$92.00 a month and if married \$103.50, and \$5.75 a month additional for each dependent child and \$11.50 for each dependent parent. While in training the veteran is entitled to the same benefit, if he suffers an injury or an

aggravation of an injury, as would be due him if such disability or aggravation were service connected within the meaning of the law covering such cases, except that such an injury must not result from his own willful misconduct.

This law differs from Public Law 346 in that the responsibility of the Veterans Administration to see the veteran through the educational process and into employment cannot be delegated. In all cases of disability, careful guidance and advisement are necessary, because a disabled person is usually limited in his occupational choices to a greater extent than the physically normal person. The training, however, is carried on by established institutions.

Success in the readjustment of the disabled depends on several things: first, an adequate retraining program to remove the handicap and make the individual fully employable in a selected occupation; second, realization on the part of employers that every job does not require two hands, two feet, and two eyes and that the disabled person may be just as efficient as one who is not disabled; third, preparation on the part of industry for the employment of the disabled through plant surveys and job studies from the point of view of the physical demands of the different types of work.

How many veterans will pursue courses of training under this law depends upon the length of the war and the casualty list. The casualty list now stands at over 400,000. Approximately 250,000 veterans of World War II are now on the pension rolls of the Veterans Administration. There are now in training and ready for entrance into training under the Vocational Rehabilitation and Education Service of the Veterans Administration approximately 7,000 disabled veterans. On the basis of these facts and experience with the rehabilitation program after the last war, the number of veterans seeking rehabilitation will probably run into the hundreds of thousands.

These two programs constitute a challenge to adult education at all levels. Successful rehabilitation and general adjustment of our

servicemen will require comprehension of the unique character of the problem and a high order of skill in establishing a proper educational environment for veterans, in setting up suitable training facilities, in the construction and streamlining of courses, and in teaching methods. The returning veterans will present innumerable but not insurmountable problems. They will not want to be segregated as a special class in education, yet they will not want to be among children. They will want full courses of training but they will want courses that are streamlined and shortened. They will want to catch up with others and thus readjust themselves in the social scene. The point of readjustment is missed entirely if we fail to see that educational readjustment means quickly catching up to where the individual would have been had not the war intervened.

There is growing evidence that educational leaders are preparing to meet the problem. Several States have set up area schools in the form of technical institutes giving terminal courses on a pre-engineering level, in most cases in connection with universities, colleges, and other established institutions, as a part of a permanent scheme of adult education. Several State Boards are arranging credits toward advanced standing for veterans. Some of our largest and best known universities are instituting summary courses in which the basic elements of education are given in preparation for professional work or for the junior or senior year in college, as the case may be and as the situation warrants. Education during the war, especially in the armed forces, has taught us that it is possible to speed up education without losing materially any of the values, just as it is possible to speed up production in an aircraft factory, although it would be dangerous to assume that the two problems are intrinsically similar.

The men coming back will need and will desire the best that our educational institutions can give them. It is important that the best schools for given purposes shall be used. In giving our veterans the best not only they but the nation will profit.

COLLEGE AND THE DEMOBILIZED STUDENT¹

Howard L. Bevis

President of Ohio State University

In a recent address before an Ohio industrial group, Charles F. Kettering, top-flight engineer and inventor, said: "I think we ought to have a postwar plan. But after we make the postwar plan that we think is most likely to happen, then we ought to make three others on each side of it. That will make seven. And then the chance is, most of what will happen will be some part of those seven."

Had Mr. Kettering been addressing college presidents instead of industrialists, he might well have chosen the same theme. Flexibility, the ability to adapt quickly to unexpected situations, must be basic in all our thinking for the postwar period.

Many a college president contemplating the program for his institution in the years that lie just ahead may wish that he might somehow read the minds of the "G. I. Joes" and the "G. I. Janes" to know better what they are thinking about postwar education. But it is doubtful that even such clairvoyance would yield much helpful information. In isolated cases, men and women in the service know what they want, and many of them will have the determination to realize their ambitions. But, by and large, these young people seem to be concentrating their thoughts on the war job to be done, and on returning home as soon as possible—without very definite thoughts about what they may do after they become civilians once more.

They realize, perhaps, that circumstances beyond control may alter decisions made today. So must school administrators. The manner of demobilization at once emphasizes the necessity for flexibility in all our planning. We must adjust to many conditions yet to be fixed. Even as this is written, the Army and the Navy are announcing demobilization plans that give an entirely different slant

¹Prepared with the assistance of Harold K. Schellenger, Director of Public Relations for Ohio State University

to the thinking of many college people. The Army proposes, at the close of hostilities in Europe, to start a reduction in personnel all over the world through the release first of those with dependents and longest service records in combat. This is not what many expected.

Had a general release been made from the European theater while the Pacific forces were kept intact to complete the job there, the early discharges would have included a large percentage of men of normal college age. Now, unless there be a further change of plans, we may expect that most of those discharged from all theaters until Japan is defeated will be older persons or those with children. They probably will be much less interested in college work on the usual schedule, a factor which must be reckoned with in our academic planning.

We already have some of the casualties and we may expect many more of them. Ohio State now has approximately two hundred. With few exceptions, thus far, they have wanted no special treatment, no special courses. Our experience with them has borne out fully the statement made by one of our former students with service *in many camps here and overseas, who writes:*

Servicemen positively do not wish to be segregated for purposes of education. They don't want regimentation nor do they want special courses catering to their every need and whim. All types of specialized training, in service, are conducted along the same lines, whether it be on the college campus or in the jungle schools of New Guinea and Africa. Specialization, regimentation, and segregation are the rules and there can be no exceptions. For the purposes of war this type of training may have its role but for the purposes of peace let us have an about-face . . . From my own experience and in contacts with men from the fighting fronts, in base camps and in hospitals from here to Australia, I find that the chief hope and prayer of every fighting man is "to have an opportunity to live a normal life." . . . In programs of education, servicemen want full participation in all phases of the program. They want a rich, varied, and dynamic program in which they are treated like every one else. They want a definite part in the scheme of things, a sense of "belongingness."

This, however, does not mean, I take it, that servicemen returning to our campus will want everything just as it was before the war. They may not want special courses into which they are segregated. But they may well want special combinations of courses and special curricula. We are likely to find that we must discard for them some of our long-standing patterns of prerequisites. The exsoldier who wants nondegree college work in accounting may not be content to wade through a sequence of economics courses before he is permitted to take the subject in which he is interested. We owe him, at least, a duty of candid consideration. Even where the prerequisite is clearly related to the subject desired, we may find it necessary to give the mature veteran the benefit of doubt in recognizing specialized service as an equivalent for the preliminary course or courses.

It is quite likely that out of the necessity for this "education by individual prescription" as applied to returning veterans we will learn many things that can be carried over into our service to other students.

We may also find that in many cases we must readjust our college time schedules to meet the needs of the veteran clientele. Most of those older persons and men with dependents scheduled for discharge at the close of the war in Europe will not find it possible to take full-time college work. But that does not mean that all of them will abandon thought of higher education. For them evening courses of full-credit nature may be the answer.

Here at Ohio State we have established a "Twilight School" offering *regular* university courses at night. The subjects are chosen on the basis of demand, and all are taught by regular members of the University staff. They are open to all employed men and women, but numerous returned veterans already are enrolled and we expect very many more. For the academic year 1944-1945 we have scheduled 105 evening courses in 39 departments of instruction, and others can be added as new needs arise.

In all of its postwar planning thus far, Ohio State has sought to

achieve a viewpoint and a procedure, rather than a determination of courses and curricula. Courses and curricula can be worked out pretty quickly as needs and desires become clear, if only our viewpoint and procedure are such as to achieve the all-important flexibility.

For more than a year our University Committee on Postwar Planning has been at work. Its investigations have extended into every department. Out of this study have come procedures for handling what we call the "demobilized student"—the individual whose higher education has been interrupted either by military service or by employment in war industry. The latter must not be neglected in our plans, for, as our committee observes:

Although in our thinking we may tend to focus attention on the ex-soldier, we should be conscious of the excivilian worker as well. The young man or woman who has left high school or college to take a job may be as handicapped by the break in his formal education, as much benefited by informal educational experience, and as much disturbed by problems of adapting himself to the ways of peace, as his soldier brother. In short, no valid educational basis for discrimination between the two groups is apparent.

We have selected as special adviser to those demobilized from military service one of our staff members who served overseas in the last war and later for several years was affiliated with the Veterans Administration.

We have established procedures by which those who have had specialized study in either the Army or the Navy or those who have taken nonmilitary work in the Armed Services Institute may, when properly qualified, receive university credit for such studies. We have specifically evaluated in terms of university credit the work done in army training courses.

For those individuals who did not graduate from high school, we have the category of "special student." For those desiring special course combinations not fitting into any existing curricula we have

made special provisions, "nondegree students" we call them, in the College of Arts and Sciences.

We have provided that returning students who feel that failures during their last previous quarters in residence were the result of emotional disturbance may, on application, have that quarter's grades removed from the record. We have also provided that veterans who in their first quarter after return fail to make good records, because of problems of readjustment, may also have that quarter's grades erased.

On completion of the preliminary report of the committee, of which the above are a few highlights, we felt the need for advice and counsel on the part of individuals outside our own circle. Accordingly, about the first of March, we invited to the campus a score of leaders from military services, government, industry, agriculture, labor, secondary education, and the college associations of our own State. To them we submitted our program, and invited free and frank discussion. Their suggestions were most helpful. In organizing such a conference, we were not unmindful of the fact that education is not a thing unto itself. We must educate the demobilized student, as well as the other young people who come to us, for life in their times. To achieve that end, we need, and shall continue to need, all possible information on the probable trends of industry and needs of society during the postwar years. On many points in the discussion our conferees were not agreed. But their viewpoints were stimulating and helpful, forewarning us of the many possible contingencies for which we need to prepare.

From the thinking in our committee, from the conference to which we invited outside consultants, and from continuing discussion all over the campus, we believe that Ohio State has glimpsed some of the seven postwar plans which Mr. Kettering suggests.

Life in his time for the demobilized student will be different from that of the normally circumstanced college youth. We want our education to be realistic. Yet, lest I be misunderstood, at this point I

want to emphasize as strongly as I may that we are not proposing to scatter the students' attention over a vast surface of shallow educational effort. We do not believe that all students, with their varying aptitudes, desires, and conditioning circumstances, can be required to take a common curriculum of "fundamentals." There are too many fundamentals for any one person to learn in any college course. We do hold strongly to fundamentals rather than to "finishing" courses designed to send the student out into the world ready to take over a job on sight. Schools can never profitably elide the process of "learning the job," the details of the job, when the job is found. Our hope is to ground the learner in fundamentals sufficiently deep and wide to form the base for whatever detailed training his work or living after college calls for.

In short, we hope to diversify the pattern of our offerings to meet demonstrable needs. But those offerings must still provide sound education.

COUNSELING STUDENTS IN THE POSTWAR COLLEGE

E. G. Williamson

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the Coordination of Counseling Services for Veterans, University
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The student body of the postwar college will consist of three types of students differing markedly in type and range of interests, aptitudes, educational and vocational backgrounds, and personal experiences. These three groups are: recent high-school graduates differing little from prewar freshmen, except perhaps in numbers going to college, war workers who interrupted and delayed their schooling to work in factories from patriotic and financial motives; and war veterans, many of them married and with serious physical handicaps, others with an interval of as much as five or six years since they last studied for a school examination.

The counseling and instruction of the first group, recent high-school graduates, may not differ materially in procedure from the prewar program, except in so far as economic and general social conditions change the motives, attitudes, and interests of this group. The second group, war workers, will resemble prewar students who were employed one or more years between high-school graduation and entrance into college and those who canceled out of college after one or two years of enrollment in order to earn sufficient money to complete their education. This type of student, while not unknown in prewar days, was never at any time as large a group as it may be after this war. The effects of such employment upon study skills and work habits are known. Many educators, particularly those who deal with the failing student, assume that one or more years of such work experiences produce desirable maturity on the part of those who took their school work less seriously than the teachers thought desirable. We may well see frequent demonstra-

tions of the fact that such experience does not inevitably lead to maturity and the acquisition of classroom skills. Work in a machine shop may produce maturity but it also sometimes seriously interferes with the bookish type of learning required in most schools

Most college counselors anticipate the greatest need for special counseling of individuals in the third group, war veterans. Essentially, counseling veterans involves helping them to re-induct themselves into civilian life. We hear much today of the reconversion of factories. We must become equally informed about the more serious and less obvious problem of reconversion of people. Unless this reconversion of people is done effectively, the reconverted factories will not be manned with efficient workers. It is no minor task for an individual to shift from a military type of living to the status of a self-dependent citizen in a democracy. Self-responsibility and self-direction of civilians differ markedly from the military chain of command, segregated care in feeding and housing, separation from family and community life, the way of living geared to short-term destructive objectives (2, pp. 68-73). The mere changing of military to civilian uniforms will not necessarily produce a corresponding change in the fundamental adjustments of the individual. Obviously, soldiers and sailors with physical disabilities will be delayed in this shift and many others will need the assistance of personal counseling because of emotional and attitudinal difficulties. Delayed occupational training beyond the normal period of early adolescent years with the consequent delay in beginning an occupational career will so worry many veterans that they may seize the first good job offered to them. One remembers quite clearly the many individuals who, ten or fifteen years after the last war, realized that they had reached the limit of their occupational careers because of limited and incomplete training. For individuals to attempt to make up this incompleteness in training one or more decades after the normal adolescent period leads, many times, to tragic results. The magnitude of this situation is revealed by the estimate of one-and-one-half million man-years of college education

lost between 1940 and 1945 (2, p. 69). Such educational deficits, many of which will never be wiped out, will make difficult any social program of conserving human talent. From the standpoint of society's need for trained manpower and the limited resources available in the immediate future, one may conclude that the tasks facing the college are not only large in magnitude but also crucial in importance.

Problems of Adjustment

Current experience with veterans and war workers returning to campuses indicates that many of them make the transition to normal civilian life without serious difficulties. Other individuals experience one or more of the following major problems of adjustments.

What to Do — Work or School? It is understandable why veterans and war workers would need to review their occupational plans. Some are untrained for civilian work, possessing only army vocational training and experience. Others desire to abandon their prewar civilian training and occupation and do not know what to substitute. Some have finished high school and are ready for employment. Still others have only just begun their civilian vocational training. These individuals need the same type of occupational counseling given to freshmen in an increasing number of schools. It should be noted that occupational reorientation will begin while many men are still in military service and will continue through the discharge or separation centers to the programs of various community agencies. The fact that these men have had military experience and are more mature in years will not necessarily result in wiser choices of occupational employment. Many individuals will make tragic mistakes in desiring to become financially secure through immediate employment. Five or ten years from now these individuals may be so insufficiently trained that they will have reached their occupational ceiling without exhausting their aptitudes.

How to Finance Training. The two Congressional acts provid-

ing for subsidized retraining of veterans will not, in many cases, provide all the finances needed. An individual who desires to secure four or more years of college professional training and who at the same time has a wife and one or more children will not be able to meet all his financial needs through this subsidy. The colleges will need to provide supplemental financial assistance in the form of part-time employment, scholarships, and loans. The present is an auspicious time for storing up money for needed scholarship and loan funds.

Educational Credit for Military Experience. Many veterans will experience an urge to make up lost time and to avoid repeating the learning of what is already known as a result of military experiences and training at home and abroad. Through the wise leadership of Colonel F. T. Spaulding, procedures and policies have been widely adopted by high school and college to make possible the granting of additional credit when soldiers and sailors have actually learned the equivalent of what is required of civilian students (2, pp. 58-64). The United States Armed Forces Institute of Madison, Wisconsin, offers a program of testing and record reporting which will do much to avoid the mistakes made after the last war through which soldiers and sailors were granted additional credits beyond what they knew with the result that many failed to make satisfactory progress in advanced courses. The use of standardized examinations to determine what an individual has learned through other than formal classroom experiences has been advocated for several decades and practised by many of the leading institutions. Such a procedure will become standard practice in the case of many veterans and war workers. It is not too visionary perhaps to anticipate that these experiences in the granting of credit will lead to profound changes in the educational institutions and will do much to break up the uniformity of the present lock-step system so widely deplored but even more widely practised.

New Curricula for Old. Many veterans and war workers will de-

sire to complete the standard curricula that they were undertaking at the time they left for war. Others will have changed interests and occupational objectives and will desire to shift their curricula and use what they can salvage out of the prewar credits. Others will desire to complete training as quickly as possible and will bring different pressures upon faculty advisers to eliminate many of the required subjects. Still others will expect colleges to organize less than four-year curricula, in technical fields such as engineering, on the grounds that the regular four-year curricula contain too much theoretical material not necessary for practical employment. Some individuals will have developed an aversion to the exclusive war emphasis upon technical subjects and technical experiences and will desire to browse for several years in the humanities and the social sciences. Many will wish to go to school part time and work part time; an increasing number will wish to attend night-school classes or to take correspondence courses. During the first few years following the return of the veterans and war workers we may expect a much wider range of requests for courses and curricula than the colleges have been accustomed to consider as the proper content of higher education. Many of these demands made upon the colleges will be transitory and others will be unwise. It would appear that college faculties will need to keep clearly in mind the central purpose of higher education in the making of those adjustments which are in line with the changing needs of the individuals and of society. Already many college administrators have wrapped their academic shroud tightly around them and reiterate their credo that that which is new in higher education is to be avoided. Most colleges will undoubtedly make temporary adjustments for the emergency situation without sacrificing fundamental curricula—newly emerging ones as well as old ones.

Segregation. The question is still current whether veterans should be segregated in college dormitories, in special curricula schools or colleges, and whether special counseling facilities should

be established for veterans apart from those for other students. An unfriendly critic might suspect that some colleges desire segregation in the hope that they will thereby keep pure and undefiled their regular curricula. Others plan special college facilities in order that they may secure greater flexibility to meet the wide range of need and demands on the part of individual veterans. In general, experience would seem to indicate that veterans desire primarily to become normal members of the community and do not desire to be segregated in any way. They wish to resume the life of a civilian student; they definitely do not wish to be labeled or stigmatized by being barred from freedom of choice to go and come as do other students.

Morale. Many individuals making the transition from military or war-worker status to civilian status will experience a profound feeling of deflation. Young men who have achieved important positions of command with the attendant distinctions of insignia and special social status must necessarily expect such a deflation as they shift to a civilian uniform which is not distinguished from that of thousands of other individuals. During the initial period of this transition a special type of personnel relationship may be necessary for many veterans, both those able-bodied and those disabled. Without such counseling many individuals may become discouraged and embarrassed as well as deflated and abandon their attempts to complete their education. Effective personnel counseling at this point may help to produce more completely trained individuals

What Should the Colleges Do to Meet This Situation?

Space permits only brief mention of five steps colleges need to take to deal with the six adjustment problems outlined above

1. Procedures should be developed and policies adopted with regard to granting educational credit for military training and experiences in line with the policies indicated above. Lip-service acceptance of the general policy is not enough; colleges must be

more aggressive in encouraging students to apply for a review of their experience and training records.

2 More effective health and mental-hygiene facilities must be made available, particularly during the first few years of the veteran's residence in college. Military psychiatrists report that we may expect many individuals who need psychiatric assistance in addition to the morale type of counseling referred to above. It goes without saying that there will be more physically handicapped individuals on the campus needing expert assistance than we are accustomed to observing. Relatively few colleges have adequate health service and mental-hygiene assistance. Unless these facilities are greatly expanded, the results will be tragic for the individual veteran and for the college community.

3 Each institution should now plan and establish effective orientation programs, including how-to-study courses, occupational orientation courses, and refresher courses in certain basic subjects. It is self-evident that military experience causes many individuals to lose the basic learning skills acquired during prewar residence in schools or colleges. These individuals need to go through warming-up exercises before beginning regular classroom work. Current reports from veterans now in residence in colleges indicate that at least half of them, especially during the first few months of residence, feel the need of relearning how to study effectively. Unless something is done about these problems, many veterans will leave college with unsatisfactory records and with resentment against the institutions.

4. More effective counseling programs must be constructed. Faculty members need to be more carefully selected and systematically trained and retrained in the development of effective counseling techniques. At the present time, counseling on most campuses consists of policing or enforcing faculty requirements for graduation, and in other institutions counseling consists of a general type of relationship, friendly in nature but not always effective in assisting

the individual student. Each institution must free selected members of the faculty from other duties so that they may have sufficient time and incentive to develop effectiveness in counseling students. The efforts of these faculty counselors must be supplemented by experts in mental hygiene, health, reading disabilities, aptitude testing, vocational guidance, and related counseling specialties. Counseling is no longer limited to approving the student's choice of subjects. It involves assisting the student to make the most of his opportunities in college, and helping him remove obstacles in learning how to use his aptitudes effectively.

5. More effective administrative organization of counseling and personnel work for veterans is needed in all colleges. At the present time, most institutions permit students to seek counseling on a permissive basis, with the exception of the type of counseling referred to above, the enforcement of graduation requirements. If present experience is valid, then each veteran should be counseled at least during the first few months of residence in the institution by trained faculty counselors supplemented by experts in aptitude testing, occupational orientation, mental hygiene, and related subjects. But counseling can be effective only when it is a requested relationship. Therefore, special veterans' counselors, agents, and committees must seek to coordinate, to expedite, and to encourage veterans to seek the type of counseling that they need.

Far too many college administrators "solve" their counseling problems by the mere "paper appointment" of instructors as counselors. But effective counseling can be developed only by careful initial selection of instructors, reduction of other duties, and by a strong program of continuous, in-service training. If counseling is important in higher education as one of several means of improving the quality of students' learning, then the college should devote money, time, and effort to developing a program that produces the desired results. The strategic importance of counseling will justify expenditures for counseling if one considers and values the need for

doing everything possible to minimize the wastage of human talent caused by the war and by the reconversion to civilians of thirteen million potential citizens whose individual and collective aptitudes will be needed in the rebuilding of society. In the face of such a social task, the college can do no less than its full share in helping students salvage as much as possible from their prewar and war experiences through revitalized instruction and personalized counseling.

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CITY SCHOOLS FACE PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR EDUCATION

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While "peak effort for Victory" must continue to be the keynote of educational activity until the war is won on all fronts, immediate preparation must be made to meet those acute problems that will attend peace, military and industrial demobilization, and future construction and reconstruction. The whole problem of residence stability and the shifting of population must be met. These problems will be serious. The type of student in the schools of tomorrow will be quite different from that to which educators have become accustomed. Instead of callow youths, proceeding year by year up the educational ladder, men and women more mature than their years measure will fill our classrooms. These young people, inured to hardship, developed in initiative, accustomed to responsibility, and returning with an intimate acquaintance of global geography, will demand, and will only patronize, schools different from those to which we and they previously were accustomed.

The magnitude of the educational job will be tremendous. The war has meant a sudden cessation of the ordinary type of education, soon after they attained eighteen years, for practically all male students. These millions, after their discharge from service, will burst in a flood upon schools, classrooms, and teachers, desiring to continue or complete their interrupted educations. The excellent training, both basic and specialized, which they have received in the armed forces has definitely accentuated the desires of millions of men for training beyond that which they would have expected in ordinary times. When they return, they will countenance no failure on the part of educators.

Education must prepare, not only for those of the eleven or twelve million men and women in the armed forces who desire

to continue their schooling, but also for many of those of the twenty million or more workers in war industry who must be re-trained or "re-tooled" after the industrial demobilization and reconversion which will follow total victory. Many of these workers have received wartime training fitting them only for specialized work in wartime production. They are not qualified for more generalized industrial work under peacetime conditions, and many of them will refuse to return to the less skilled or unskilled labor which was their means of submarginal livelihood before World War II. For the safety of our society and for the maintenance and development of our democracy, these workers must be given training to meet the needs of the future.

In general, the program as we see it at the present time will be developed out of the program and projects of the war years which we have so far experienced. The work of the public schools in pre-induction training, in guidance, and in specialist training in the junior colleges for the armed forces has given us experience and insight into many ways, methods, and practices which are desirable and already of proved value. To a great extent, the program will be comparable to our present program, but expanded, strengthened, specialized, and vitalized.

An adequate guidance program for these returning men and women is an essential first step which must be taken before courses of study, teaching methods, and educational procedures can be devised and applied. It is futile and a waste of money in tax-supported institutions to permit students to enroll in courses without first helping them to make sure that their training will prove to be an integral part of a well-organized plan. This has been found equally true in the Los Angeles City schools with reference to pre-induction training. The splendid program already developed so effectively in this field is now being expanded and developed for all future guidance. The problem of student guidance is treated in considerable detail in the accompanying article by Dean E. G. Williamson.

These basic considerations must be given attention as the city school system views the future. The fundamentals, the basic skills, and essential knowledges must be adequate, useful, and usable. Discipline and standards of accomplishment will be required and expected almost as definitely in schooling as they are in the armed forces. Health and fitness, both mental and physical, must be foremost in any educational program. Many of the returning men and women merit particular consideration in these areas because of the strains and tensions to which they have been subjected. Their health consciousness must be maintained. Education must provide for them wholesome recreation, entertainment, and play.

The field of human relationships must not be forgotten. Present evidence indicates that returning men and women need help to see the necessity for study in this field as well as study in the fields of English, mathematics, and science. New world concepts, the air-age program, plastics, new metals, materials, and methods of production will be readily accepted and expected by students because of their wartime experience. Careful preparation and presentation of labor and management relationships must be provided, lest we as a nation become engulfed in strife and bloc-control practices. The relationships of a citizen to his government must be kept ever before these students as a bond to the American way of life. They must realize that basic skills and professional training are open to all and for all. They will learn that they must give increasing services and taxes as they come to expect more service from the government. They must be trained to appreciate and participate intelligently in the kind of government which they themselves desire. These considerations typify our program, our job, and our objective. They involve the effort and participation of parents, teachers, students, schools, communities, and leaders in the armed forces.

One essential in education will be to get these men and women into organized study or training as soon as possible. A second es-

sential will be to help them complete their training as rapidly as possible. In all branches of peacetime service, we need trained leaders, tradesmen, craftsmen, engineers, scientists, professional men, and specialists. Their efforts will count for more, and accomplish more in proportion, if they have received suitable training. When these men and women are first demobilized, they are ready for training and are unencumbered by other plans. If, through our dilatoriness, they enter upon other programs rather than complete their training, it will be difficult to induce them to return to school or training institutions later. They must be trained quickly, efficiently, and released rapidly. The average young man or woman who returns to peacetime pursuits at the age of twenty-odd years cannot be expected to view with equanimity or approval the pursuit of education at the usual, leisurely pace. Accustomed to speed-up practices, long and intensive hours in the armed forces, and interested in results rather than intentions, these veterans can be expected to return to school for only a brief, accelerated period of training, except in the case of professional students. They will insist upon completing their education as rapidly as possible so that they may enter gainful employment or in other ways re-establish themselves in normal civilian pursuits. If their education and placement are *speedy and successful, continuity in all their undertakings* in extension education, adult education, and learning on the job is assured.

Referring specifically to the men from the armed forces, we will find their educational level relatively high. More than one half of them will have had some high-school education and about one half of these will be high-school graduates. The person who has had education is the person who wants more education. This fixes the problem of training for many veterans rather definitely at the secondary- or vocational-school level, and in the case of the Los Angeles City schools rather precisely at the level of the senior high school and junior college.

A number of different types of schools will be able to contribute directly in the training of these men and women. Some of the youngest individuals, the interruption of whose education has been relatively recent, will return to the regular high schools that they previously attended, and others will return to junior college or to university work. In order to extend the possibilities for these individuals, it will be desirable to offer some of the advanced courses of the senior high school at the junior college or post-high-school level so that high-school subjects and some college courses can be carried on concurrently. Adult day and evening schools, which long have been functioning successfully in Los Angeles, will enroll many who wish to continue their education while they are gainfully employed or who wish to enroll for only a limited number of courses. In any of these situations, these men and women must be in groups and with opportunities comparable to their own maturity. They cannot be put back with children!

Evidence already secured from a number of sources indicates that many of those returning will expect specialized training to fit them directly for business and industry. This can best be accomplished in Los Angeles through a continuation and extension of the work already carried on at the Frank Wiggins Trade School and at the Metropolitan School of Business. These schools are typical of institutions that will have much to offer in specialized training, convenient class conditions, and rapid progress, and will be comparable to schools in many other cities. While it is already evident that men returning from the armed forces will properly object to segregation in special classes within any existing school or institution, plans have been made in Los Angeles for a Veterans' Training Institute which, in general, will include work from the tenth through the fourteenth grades. Under our plan, such an Institute will be staffed by a faculty of teachers, all of whom have themselves served in the armed forces. This will provide a continuation of the atmosphere to which both students and teachers have been accustomed. It will

permit these men to retain something of the status and prestige afforded to them in military life. Such a specialized school will facilitate the use and continuation of speed-up training techniques to which faculty and students have been previously accustomed. Registration procedures will be simplified and new classes opened more frequently and more easily than in the ordinary school.

At the conclusion of training, careful attention again must be given to guidance and placement. Some of the trainees will have jobs waiting for them. For many, however, the termination of training will tend to be a time as complex and confusing as was the day of demobilization. They must be given adequate, accurate, and readily available guidance.

These are some of the plans and considerations which must receive attention in any city. The size, scope, and nature of the job to be done must be properly grasped. School superintendents and their staffs must see the problem as a great challenge and opportunity. Our major objective is to see that the veterans of the armed forces and of wartime industry are quickly and satisfactorily reabsorbed in society so that they can become a great, constructive force in the community. It is the duty, privilege, obligation, and responsibility of every public-school system to see that these things are accomplished.

SELECTIVE SERVICE AND THE RETURNING VETERAN

Colonel Paul H. Griffith

Chief, Veterans' Personnel Division, National Selective Service System

Every one knows the Selective Service System as the governmental agency that selects men from civilian life and places them in the armed forces. This article concerns a less publicized side of its duties, but one that is constantly becoming more and more important and which might be called "Selective Service in reverse."

Congress, in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, not only provided for the taking of men from civilian life for the armed forces, but also provided for their return from the armed forces to civilian life, as follows: "The Director of Selective Service herein provided for shall establish a Personnel Division with adequate facilities to render aid in the replacement in their former positions of, or in securing positions for members of the reserve components of the land and naval forces of the United States who have satisfactorily completed any period of active duty, and persons who have satisfactorily completed any period of their training and service under this Act."

This duty (as are all others in the Selective Service System) is decentralized and a responsibility of the local boards, of which there are over 6,400 in the country (at least one in every county). To each board is attached one or more re-employment committeemen (an average at present of more than two per board); but not only the re-employment committeemen, but the board members, government appeal agents, doctors, members of advisory committees, and clerks are available for veteran assistance. Thus, there are available about 75,000 uncompensated and about 17,000 paid employees of Selective Service to assist veterans upon their return to civilian life.

As for the veteran who wants his old job back, the law provides that he is entitled to reinstatement in his former position or in one

of like seniority, status, and pay, provided: (1) Such position was in the employ of a private employer, the United States Government, its territories or possessions, or the District of Columbia; (2) such position was not a temporary one; (3) he left the position subsequent to May 1, 1940, to enter upon active military or naval service in the land or naval forces of the United States; (4) he satisfactorily completed his period of training and service and received a certificate to that effect; (5) he is still qualified to perform the duties of such position; (6) he makes application for re-employment within forty days after he is relieved from service; and (7), if such position is in the employ of a private employer, the employer's circumstances have not so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to reinstate the veteran to such a position or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay.

The law goes further to protect the veteran after he has been restored to his job. When he returns to the pay roll it provides that: (1) He shall be considered as having been on furlough or leave of absence during his period of service; (2) he shall be restored without loss of seniority; (3) he shall be entitled to participate in insurance or other benefits offered by the employer pursuant to established rules and practices relating to employees on furlough or leave of absence in effect with the employer at the time such person entered military or naval service; and (4) he shall not be discharged from such position without cause for one year after restoration.

Unfortunately misunderstandings and disputes sometimes arise between the returned veteran and his former employer with respect to reinstatement. The conditions of both will necessarily change and, in some instances, in many respects. Whether such changes are sufficient to render a veteran ineligible to the rights which Congress meant to confer must, of necessity, depend upon the facts in each case. It is anticipated that the employer will meet the problem in a spirit of fair play and in appreciation of the sacrifices made by the veteran, and that he will not take advantage of any technicality in order to evade his responsibility to the veteran. If, however, a dis-

agreement does arise between the employer and the veteran, a local board member or the re-employment committeeman should call personally to see the employer and attempt by every means possible to reach an amicable agreement, mutually satisfactory to the veteran and to the employer, but without sacrificing any of the veteran's rights.

In trying to reach an amicable adjustment, the local board or its re-employment committeeman may call for assistance from representatives of veterans' organizations or from labor, civic, community, or postwar planning groups, veterans' advisory committees, clearing-house committees, or any other groups available and willing to assist in the readjustment of veterans.

It is highly desirable that the local board do everything it can to obtain the reinstatement of the veteran by amicable means. In no case is the local board to send the case to the United States Attorney or institute any legal action on behalf of the veteran. If the local board is unable to reach an amicable adjustment of the veteran's re-employment rights, the local board shall send a complete report to its own State Director who will keep the local board advised of all further action taken in the case. Where legal proceedings seem necessary, the State Director will refer the case, together with his recommendations, to the Director of Selective Service for submission to the Department of Justice.

The replacement of veterans in their former positions the Selective Service handles direct; the securing of new positions Selective Service handles through other governmental agencies. For instance, a position within the Federal Government, through the Civil Service Commission; a position with a railroad, through the Railroad Retirement Board; in private industry, through the Veterans' Employment Service of the United States Employment Service. The utilization of these various agencies is not a delegation of the responsibility of the Selective Service System, but it is the acceptance of presently available facilities for the carrying out of the duty imposed by Congress upon the Selective Service System.

Up to the present time there have been separated from the armed forces over a million and a quarter veterans. In considering the readjustment of the veteran, it should be pointed out that in the great majority of cases no large problem is involved. The average exserviceman returns to civilian life, goes back to work, either in his old job or a new one, and soon loses his identity as a veteran.

Many veterans while in service will have "developed out of" their old jobs. At the present time only about twenty-five per cent of the veterans separated from the services have returned to their former jobs. The clerk has become a skilled machinist, the miner has become a captain of engineers, the student has become an Air Corps captain. It is our duty to help place the veteran in a job for which his present skill qualifies him. The great majority so placed have little difficulty in readjusting themselves to their new positions.

Even among those veterans who have been discharged for disability, the percentage having any difficulty in readjusting is remarkably low. In fact in many cases the defect that caused their discharge from the armed services might not even be noticed in their civilian endeavor.

For the more seriously disabled, governmental agencies, industry, and business are doing a wonderful job of rehabilitation. It makes no difference what the disability is—a lost arm or a leg or blindness, the man is taught from the beginning that he can be a useful citizen in his community. A man is made to understand that a pension is security, not something to be considered as charity. A blind veteran is not kept in a hospital a day longer than necessary—as soon as he is able to go about, he is encouraged to mingle with others who have no disability. No case is hopeless, as is proved every day in the rehabilitation of the disabled. The capacity of the disabled veteran must be carefully considered in relation to his work assignment, but he should not be treated as a "problem" or "special" case.

Also of great importance is a training program necessary to educate the foremen or others in supervisory positions in their handling of veterans requiring rehabilitation and readjustment. Their ability to deal intelligently and understandingly with the veteran will determine the success of the rehabilitation and readjustment program.

CONNECTICUT'S POSTWAR RE-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Carl A. Gray

Chairman, Connecticut Reemployment Commission

With the reshuffling of ten million men from the armed forces to civilian pursuits and eighteen million or more war workers from war jobs to peace jobs, America faces a problem of human engineering and individual adjustment of unprecedented magnitude. To meet this problem adequately we must attack it with the same intelligence, initiative, energy, and vision with which we have so successfully prosecuted this war. It is not a job that can be done by picayune thinking, narrow planning, or pinchpenny practices. It must be done on a broad approach, utilizing the best we have in men and techniques.

America is the land of opportunity and those who have fought for America are entitled to an opportunity for the best and most satisfactory utilization of their talents in earning a living. And by giving them such opportunities we shall give them not only their reward but at the same time will be taking out insurance against unemployment, privation, and suffering.

In Connecticut we are attacking the problem on a broad front. We are training our guns on every obstacle that stands in the way of the successful adjustment and re-employment of any war veteran or displaced war worker, regardless of what his individual problem may be. We are attacking the problem at its roots—in the home communities of the veterans and displaced war workers—by organizing community committees to inventory and coordinate all existing resources at the local level and by putting these resources to work with vision, brains, and energy. We are working through our educational institutions to make sure that every opportunity for education and training is made available to those who will want further education or training before taking up their

life's work. We are developing a consciousness of the problem and disseminating expert information on how to meet it within industry, through training courses for personnel people, supervisors, and foremen. We are stimulating industry to have a better consciousness of its personnel problems. We are training some of our biggest guns on the problem of individual screening and guidance in the realization that any adjustment program will be weak and ineffective unless there is some means whereby the talents, inclinations, and other personal characteristics of the individual can be adequately evaluated, and advice and assistance given in accordance with this information and with other existing facts.

It is recognized that Federal and State laws provide certain rights, privileges, and benefits for war veterans, and, within their limitations, the statutory provisions are far greater than existed for veterans after the last war. But none of these laws requires any private individual or even any agency to take more than a cursory personal interest in the welfare of the individual war veteran or displaced war worker and no such law could be written. For instance, provision is made for counseling and guidance at the United States Employment Service offices, where they exist, but sufficient funds are not available to enable the U.S.E.S. to employ the additional trained personnel required to carry out a counseling service adequate to meet the demands that will be made upon it.

As one veteran of the First World War said, "We don't have to wait for legislation to help a returning veteran. That is something we can do on our own initiative. We of course want to take advantage of existing legislation and existing agencies but we need not be bound by any limitation imposed on them by law or practice. We don't need a law to tell us we can lend a helping hand to any one at any time."

To each individual veteran and displaced war worker the whole problem of adjustment and re-employment is substantially as it affects him. That is, the whole problem is composed of a vast number

of individual problems. And the solution can only be found in solving each individual problem as such. The exservicemen's problems arise not so much from what they have experienced, as from what they face in terms of their total readjustment to civilian life, and the greatest need is not primarily for solace and compensation for what happened in military life, but for help in the development of the ability of the individual to become self-reliant again in civilian life.

Accordingly, the first requirement is to provide one well-known central place where the veteran or displaced war worker can go to lay his problem before some one in whom he has confidence. In many cases the only assistance a veteran desires is specific information or a referral to a job which he is qualified to fill. But there are many veterans who are uncertain what they want or what is best for them under all given circumstances. They require expert counseling and guidance. Counseling involves serious responsibilities and requires competent, experienced, and carefully trained counselors. There should be a carefully developed follow-up program until the veteran's adjustment is complete. This counseling requires a knowledge of the "whole person," and cannot be done effectively in incidental, piecemeal fashion. The veterans' problems may be those of general adjustment to their community, their home, or the idea of working for a living. It may be a problem about the best possible educational program. Many will be troubled about additional training for specific jobs for which they would like to qualify. Also there will be many requiring physical and mental rehabilitation.

The machinery we have set up in Connecticut to give our veterans and our displaced war workers all possible assistance is designed to take full advantage of all the services offered by any of the many Federal and State agencies, particularly at the local level, by coordinating the activities and programs of these agencies through a coordinating committee and, then, supplementing such services where necessary at the local level when possible.

At the State level this has been accomplished by the Connecticut Reemployment Commission appointed by Governor Raymond E. Baldwin in 1943, which has on its membership the State heads of all the Federal and State agencies having a definite responsibility toward the adjustment and re-employment of veterans. The function of the Commission is to coordinate and integrate the State activities and programs of these agencies, such as Veterans Administration, War Manpower Commission, United States Employment Service, and Selective Service System to the end that collectively, instead of individually, they will be better able to render the services for which they were established. Under this arrangement all these agencies are working toward a common end; a maximum of service to the greatest number. They are coordinating their efforts on a voluntary basis and in a spirit of splendid cooperation.

At the local level in the 169 towns in the State, local counterparts of the Connecticut Reemployment Commission are found in local adjustment, re-employment, and veterans' advisory committees. The local committees are composed of the representatives of all contributing agencies in that community with liaison representatives of necessary agencies not having an official local contact. And, like the State commission, the local committees serve to coordinate the programs of the various agencies and, where necessary, to supplement the available services.

One sample of the cooperative nature of this arrangement is the fact that in Connecticut the Connecticut Reemployment Commission has been designated by Selective Service as its State Veterans' Advisory Committee and the local Reemployment committees are being designated by Selective Service as Veterans' Advisory Committees.

Existing laws provide that veterans, under varying conditions, may obtain further education and training at the expense of the Federal Government. But the law does not require existing educational institutions to readjust their educational programs to meet

the specialized educational needs of the veterans. But Connecticut's educational institutions are adjusting their programs to meet this need, and through the Connecticut Reemployment Commission and the local Adjustment and Reemployment Committees, all available information on this subject is made readily available to the veterans.

There is nothing in any Federal or State law to provide for a State-wide peacetime job-training program but such a program is an essential part of any program to solve the re-employment problem. In 1939, Connecticut carried out such a program under the auspices of the Connecticut Employment Commission created by Governor Baldwin, and, with the cooperation of top management in industry, labor, the State and local educational authorities, and veterans' organizations, more than 50,000 persons were trained for specific jobs before the war began. Many more were trained after the war started. A similar program is now being planned by the Connecticut Reemployment Commission to train war workers for peacetime jobs under what we call our Bread and Butter School Program. These are part-time courses for peacetime jobs. They do not interfere with the war effort, since the courses are taken after working hours.

An important factor in the postwar adjustment and re-employment problem will be the approximately ninety per cent of our high-school graduates who will go into the labor market each year. At present only six per cent of our high schools in the United States have any guidance program and some of these are in reality simply gestures. We have been weak in the past in not providing a real guidance program for high-school students and, consequently, they constitute a real problem when thrown upon the labor market after graduation without any particular work skill. To help solve this problem, we are encouraging more and more attention to it and an expansion of our educational program at the secondary level to give these students a better preparation for their life's work. By

doing this we will minimize the employment problem on a long-range basis. Cooperative work-type schools are going to be of great importance in the future and we want to expand their services to the fullest extent possible.

If the whole problem is to be dealt with successfully, it must be dealt with in all its aspects. There already exist many agencies that can contribute to the solution of the problem. We in Connecticut are utilizing these agencies on a cooperative basis. In addition, we are emphasizing, and our plan calls for, careful screening, counseling, guidance, adjustment, rehabilitation, education, training, and job placement.

JOB PLACEMENT FOR WAR VETERANS

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The basic idea in connection with the re-establishment of war veterans in industry is the fact that, when they went into the military services, they expected to come back and go to work again. When they took their departure their names were not dropped from the pay rolls of the various divisions of General Motors. Instead, they were given military leaves of absence. The policy of General Motors was thereby automatically indicated; and, as the number of those who left increased at a rapid rate, plans were made to receive them, interview them, and reassign them to useful work when they returned.

By the end of August 1944, the total number of those who had taken military leaves of absence had passed the 100,000 mark. During the same period more than 6,000 war veterans have returned, gone through the various reception and reassignment procedures set up by the divisions in accordance with the basic plan, and been assigned to jobs. It is therefore felt that the basic plan, which was drawn up and presented to the divisions in November 1943, has had an opportunity to prove itself and that Personnel Departments of the various divisions are prepared to operate smoothly when the veterans begin to return in larger numbers.

Fundamental in the preparation of the basic plan was the fact that the routines of the various Personnel Departments had been established before the war and were already in operation, their processes made even more efficient by the wartime necessity of handling a greatly increased number of applicants for employment. Most of the divisions had already had experience in interviewing and placing handicapped persons. One division, for example, conducted a partial survey immediately before the war which disclosed that of 3,500 employees, 700 were handicapped in one way or another. But, because of the fact that warfare tends to produce

many handicapped veterans, it was felt that additional arrangements should be made which would provide the special consideration to which all veterans were entitled.

With this in view, the basic plan was suggested that a representative be appointed by the Personnel Department of each division, whose responsibility would be the coordination of the activities of the Medical Department, the Employment Department, the training facilities, the supervisory personnel, and all others concerned with the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. It was suggested that he make a survey of the jobs in the plant from the standpoint of their physical requirements so that he could assist the Employment Department in placing handicapped veterans on jobs that accorded with the recommendations of the plant physician. It was also suggested that he maintain contact with the outside training facilities available to veterans, with the Regional Office of the Veterans' Administration and with the local Red Cross unit. And, most important of all, it was suggested that he carefully follow up the progress of the veterans after they had been assigned to jobs.

Under the operation of the plan as outlined, the first step was naturally to be a complete physical examination of the veterans by the plant physician. Based upon his findings, they could thereupon be classified in five major groups, as follows:

Group 1. Those with no physical impairments, hence able to resume their usual occupations or any other work in the plant.

Group 2. Those still affected by some physical or mental condition that makes them unsuited for certain types of work but who are able to perform other types of work efficiently. This group can be further classified into subgroups, as: (a) no hazardous machinery; (b) no heavy lifting; (c) ground level work only; (d) avoid dusts, fumes, and skin irritations; (e) no extensive walking or standing; (f) restrict to areas with low noise levels.

Group 3. Those with severe handicap which requires individual special attention for safe placement.

Group 4. Those who are temporarily unable to work because of

a physical condition but who may fully recover at a later date without permanent disability.

Group 5. Those who require extensive vocational rehabilitation before they can perform any kind of work in the plant.

In actual operation under the outlined plan, each division was of course at liberty to modify or elaborate its placement system in accordance with local requirements. Some divisions, for example, have increased the number of classifications under Group 3, the matter of impaired vision being largely adopted. One division includes in its routine a series of aptitude tests, which have been under development for some time, and finds that, in more than a few instances, it is able to place the veteran in a job quite different from his former one with resulting complete satisfaction. And all divisions keep constantly in mind the basic idea that there are to be no "made jobs," that each veteran wants the assurance that he is earning his pay on a job that is necessary.

It is generally understood, of course, that, while the findings of each physical examination are usually considered confidential between the doctor and the person examined, successful placement cannot be arranged unless the veteran's disability is discussed with those interested in properly placing him. His permission to do this is always obtained where necessary. It is also generally understood that an individual with a severe handicap is quite apt to lack the confident mental attitude of the normal healthy person, and steps to "buck him up"—without the demoralizing influence of coddling—are included in the procedures. And experience thus far, while it permits no definite conclusions, indicates that as a general rule the operations under the plan are proving practical and effective.

As of the end of June 1944, for example, the division reports indicate that thus far 80 per cent of the veterans employed fall into Group I—those who have been able to return to their old jobs or jobs of a similar nature. Of the balance, 16 per cent have fallen into one of the classifications under Group 2 and have been placed on

jobs with certain restrictions, such as "no hazardous machinery," "no heavy lifting," etc. The remaining 4 per cent have fallen into Group 3, in which physical impairments have made necessary the application of special individual attention. In the case of those few who fell into Groups 4 and 5, of course, the coordinator saw to it that the veteran was cared for by the proper agencies.

It is obvious that this tabulation does not indicate what is to happen in the future, for experience thus far does not include those veterans who have been seriously wounded and are at present going through hospitalization. But, even though a forecast is not appropriate at this time, it is safe to state that the employment of those with functional impairments will continue to present definite problems that require individual attention before satisfactory placement can be made.

To this end the various Personnel Departments have been carefully organized as outlined. From the Personnel Director himself all the way along the line to the supervisors in the plants, arrangements have been completed whereby each returning veteran will receive all the attention necessary to assure his placement in a job that he can handle. In many instances the organizations are so arranged that a meeting of department heads can be called for consultation. And in all instances the veteran is going to have the assurance that he is a definitely contributing part of a producing organization.

In other words, the veteran has returned from war expecting to engage in productive work for which he is going to be paid the going rate. To that end the Corporation is organized to help him. If a job can be technologically arranged to make his work productive, it will be done. If he has to undergo a training period, that will be arranged for him also, using the same facilities that were created during the war effort to train new employees and following up with a similar "break-in" period in actual production. And if his first assignment proves unsatisfactory to him—and if the

plant doctor agrees—he can be assigned to another job more suitable to him.

In the case of the General Motors Institute, the same consideration of the war veteran has been arranged. Should he wish to continue his education under the cooperative plan which has been in operation for twenty-five years, two semesters of pre-cooperative training have been arranged in a program so flexible that the veteran is able to take either one or both semesters or any part of each, after which he can return to full-time employment or go into the four-year training course as he wishes. Forty-three veterans have already enrolled for the fall semester of 1944.

And careful and unobtrusive follow-up procedures will watch over the progress of all veterans, as well. Not only his supervisor but the Safety man and the Veterans' Coordinator will keep in touch with him from time to time, while counseling and the other services of the Personnel Department will be made available to him.

In some instances the completion of his readjustment period may consume considerable time. In others it is expected that the veteran will fail to readjust and will leave to seek satisfactory employment elsewhere. But in all cases it is the policy of General Motors to give every assistance possible; for a successfully placed individual, even if he is handicapped by some physical impairment, is no longer handicapped from the standpoint of earnings or productivity. While he is at work, he is a full-bodied, self-respecting citizen, contributing to the wealth of the nation that he has served.

UTILIZING HANDICAPPED WORKERS

H. A. Vonachen, M.D.

Medical Director, Caterpillar Tractor Company, Peoria, Illinois

Chuck Wheeler returned to Caterpillar Tractor Company to resume his former job seven weeks ago. His thumb and the index and second fingers were missing from his left hand. He had had several recurrent attacks of malaria. Chuck's battle experiences of fighting the Japs in the jungles of the South Pacific, and months of treatment in the hospitals could not be forgotten. He had many black hours thinking about his old job on the machine, which, he remembered, took both hands. What could he do? How was "Caterpillar" going to satisfactorily re-employ him?

Chuck desired and needed employment as quickly as possible. When "Caterpillar" personnel men talked with him, he displayed fear of further injuring his hand. He was doubtful about working eight hours, six days a week. After consideration of the facts, it was suggested that he start working in the training shop for a few weeks. He would be paid his former rate, and it would be on a machine identical to the one he left when he entered the service.

Work in the training shop is supervised by instructors in the Training Department. Classrooms are located adjacent to the shop and Chuck could receive instruction there with small groups in shop mathematics, blueprint reading, handling of inspection and measuring equipment, and certain instruction in the use of jigs, fixtures, cutting tools, and the like. He was free to discuss problems with shop instructors. Classwork could serve as a refresher course and also give a break in machine-operating routine. He could punch out his attendance card and go home any time he desired. The Training Department Library was a quiet place where he could read instead of going home.

After three weeks in the training shop, with little lost time and a good record, he was transferred to his old job in the plant, and

shortly afterwards Chuck said, "The gradual readjustment made possible in the training shop and the four weeks on the old job has really put me back in the groove."

Returning men from military to civilian life must be recognized as one of the most important problems confronting this nation in the winning of the peace. As high as ten per cent of our fighting men and women may be handicapped physically or mentally upon their return. In order to let the living man be the monument to the man who has been killed, we must have well-developed business and industrial programs coordinated into a complete community preparation.

"Caterpillar" told its employees, when they left to enter the armed forces, that their jobs would be waiting for them when they returned. In order properly to place veterans, who returned with hands, arms, or legs missing, sight or hearing gone, or other disabilities, on gainful and useful work, the Company has had in operation a plan whereby much valuable experience in placing handicapped individuals has been gained.

Shortly after war was declared, this Company, like many others, was suffering from a manpower shortage. Different branches of the armed forces needed the equipment that we were manufacturing in this plant. Supervision needed additional people to fill the vacancies of those who went on military leave, and also for the expansion needed to meet increased production schedules.

Many applications for employment on file in the Personnel division were those of handicapped people. By placing civilian handicapped people on jobs much progress was made in solving the manpower shortage, and knowledge was gained in the placing of some of the 5,000 to 6,000 employees who would return from military leave suffering from physical handicaps. In facing this problem many years of experience in the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped were drawn upon. An extensive survey of the jobs that were already being done by our handicapped employees was made. With the results of this survey in mind, analyses were made of simi-

lar jobs in order to place other handicapped applicants for employment. These studies involved the cooperation of Personnel, Safety and Medical divisions, and the Training department as well as Supervision. The types of work available for employees with physical disabilities were then known.

Those physically handicapped, who applied for employment, were first interviewed by a member of the Personnel division, who had knowledge of the physical and mental qualifications required for the job. The usual complete medical examination given all applicants for employment was supplemented in the case of the handicapped man by a personal interview with the Medical Director, who in cooperation with the Personnel Director made a careful, sympathetic analysis of the applicant's talent and abilities, and placed him on a job where his disability was no handicap in his work.

Impressed upon the applicant is the necessity for care and safety in his work. Supervision has been instructed in the proper handling of these people through conferences conducted by the Training department. Job instructor training has been given all supervision and job trainers. The Safety division makes certain that the accident possibility on the job is at an absolute minimum. Handicapped employees do not transfer to any other job without the consent of the Personnel, Safety, and Medical divisions.

In the past two-and-one-half years over 1,000 handicapped people have been employed at "Caterpillar" in gainful and useful work. The classification of "handicapped" includes only those with major defects, such as loss of hands or feet; marked deformities; loss of one or both eyes; loss of hearing or speech; those recovered from tuberculosis and heart disease.

The vast majority of these people have a production, safety, and absentee record above average. It has not been necessary to establish any special training programs for handicapped employees; rather, they are considered as normal individuals who are capable of completing the regular training courses. They are paid at the

same rate as normal individuals, are shown no special favors, and are in no way considered as accepting charity. They will be given the same consideration as any other employee in being retained on the job in the days following the war.

Let us also consider the so-called "nervous cases" that have been discharged from military service. There have been altogether too many false opinions expressed by those who know but few of the facts in these cases, so much so that many a boy has been branded unjustly.

Let us first remember that the average American boy was not accustomed to the regimentation that must be a part of military life. Also let us try to remember that these men have been subjected for days to all the hell of war with death standing beside them every minute; then let us realize that the nervous reactions are those of normal individuals. No person living can be exposed to these conditions and return to civilian life and adjust himself within a day or two. But sympathetic help from industry and the community will shorten the time, and often determine the future of the veteran. Our supervisors have been educated and instructed in the proper method of dealing with this problem.

Some of the cases industry will not be able to solve, because the individuals need further hospital and medical care, but at least the attempt can be earnestly made, and the men guided to treatment, which in many cases will return them to gainful employment.

The whole problem of "human rehabilitation" is one of "good common sense." Many industries and communities have hoped to solve the problem by a magic program, but, after many years of experience, it must be concluded that each case will have to be dealt with as an individual one with proper induction programs, education of supervisors, and a sympathetic approach from all communities. This problem will be solved, for this nation owes a great deal of gratitude to those men who sacrificed so much that the Nation might live.

The success of the Human Rehabilitation program at the Caterpillar Tractor Company interested other employers, ministers, educators, Selective Service officials and other governmental agencies, businessmen, and social workers. All groups, organizations, and concerns in the Peoria, Illinois, community who were interested in assisting the veteran to make the readjustment to civilian life were organized into a community organization captioned "The Peoria Plan for Human Rehabilitation."

"The Peoria Plan" coordinates the returning servicemen's activities of all organizations into one central clearing house. The purpose of the plan is to have one place in the community to which a veteran can go to secure the assistance and guidance which he may need concerning employment, education, training, and other beneficial information. It is the initiative of industry and business to pool its opportunities for employment on a community-wide basis by cooperating with all local organizations and agencies

The general principles of "The Peoria Plan" have been time-tested and work-proved. We believe that in them lie the essentials of a comprehensive, efficient, and workable program which multiplied many times by the number of cities, towns, and villages over the nation will conserve the greatest of all American assets—useful and self-respecting human beings.

The following points briefly summarize the procedure used in establishing "The Peoria Plan for Human Rehabilitation."

1. Meeting of employers large and small.
2. It is an all-inclusive group

Every interested organization and concern in this community joined forces in developing plans for the returning servicemen and service women.

We have 70 to 80 different groups participating in "The Peoria Plan."

The employer is considered as one.

3. Necessary finances for the calendar year of 1944 were contributed by the Peoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturer's Association, Block & Kuhl Girls' Club, Peoria Association of Commerce and others.

We estimate \$5,000 to \$6,000 per year as the total cost.

The Counselor and Secretary are the only paid individuals

Office space and equipment have been furnished by the War Manpower Commission.

"The Peoria Plan" is postwar planning which applies to the present day. Picture for yourself men returning to your own community with arms, eyes, hands, and legs missing, deaf, deformities of all types, those with abnormal mental reactions, and those who have been taught to kill for one to three years. Should we expect these men immediately to readjust themselves the day they return? Many a young man is in a fox-hole or a hospital bed at this very moment, thinking of home and the future. Most of all he wants a job, a chance to be independent and not be asking for charity. Business concerns say, "We would like to use these people, but how can we?" "What can they do?" "Will they endanger other employees or themselves?" "What about the boys who left school for military service?" The problem of returning men from military to civilian life is one of the greatest confronting this nation today. If we are to solve these problems, preparations must be made now and not when the war is over. Picture for yourselves several million men dissatisfied and bitter upon their return and then think of the possible political and economical repercussions. Giving jobs to the physically handicapped is more than a humanitarian gesture—it is sound business.

"The Peoria Plan for Human Rehabilitation" gives to every individual the opportunity to receive his "God-given rights," to care for himself and for his dependents. Above all, it demonstrates the willingness of all concerned to contribute their share in making the United States of America the outstanding example of true democracy.

THE CHURCH AND DEMOBILIZATION PLANNING

J. Gordon Chamberlin

*Chairman, Interdenominational Committee on Services for
the Demobilization Period*

Employment, reintegration—these are the two basic problems of the demobilization process and period. The two can never be separated nor can they be completely distinguished from each other. The returning veteran may find employment but he is not successfully demobilized until he, at least, has begun the process of reintegration into community life.

Demobilization will involve some eighteen to twenty million war workers and upward of ten million service men and women. Thus, nearly thirty million people and their families will be in transit from their wartime service and area of residence to peacetime jobs and homes. This vast migration, and the heightening of the transiency patterns in America's social structure, will draw new attention to one of the fundamental problems of this generation—how to build a stable society out of a transient population.

In so far as the church is a social institution in each community and in the nation, it will be as seriously affected as every other institution. Its members are gone in vast numbers, and many may never return to active church life. The church will suffer in depression and benefit in prosperity just as do schools and welfare agencies. Though the church is always more than a social institution, it has its own function to perform in the general framework of the community life. It has an opportunity in both employment and reintegration of the shifting population.

Obviously the church will not attempt to give jobs to all the unemployed. It may set up employment committees to aid in this important work. It may promote again what thirty-five denominations sponsored in May 1919—an "Employment Sunday" launching a drive to get jobs for returning veterans. But the church's more

unique function is to remind the nation and its citizens that employment is not only an economic problem, it is ethical as well. Decent human life cannot be maintained on a starvation level. The fabric of society gives way before continuing privations. Work is a right as well as an essential ingredient to human dignity and decency. The economic structure is continually judged by its ability to assure for all a share in the God-given resources and the man-made productive capacities of the nation. The church may be expected to remind the country of that judgment, though not with a united voice. The "middle-class" sections of the church probably will be no more prophetic than the pietistic and fundamentalist sections. But there will be a "voice" from the churches speaking out on crucial economic conflicts.

There will be a greater unity of approach and probably a greater common concern for the church's responsibility in the reintegration of returning veterans and migrating war workers. Already the church has laid many foundations for this reintegration. Both denominational and interdenominational agencies have been at work. The plans of the church for aiding veterans and others are to be closely integrated with the various governmental and social agencies.

Since the readjustment of a returning service man or woman is an outgrowth of the kind of relationship maintained during the period of his or her absence, some of the church's wartime agencies are in a strategic position to help begin the reintegration process. The Service Men's Christian League is an interdenominational agency set up at the beginning of the war to promote a united religious program in the armed forces paralleling the youth activities (Youth Fellowship, Classes, Christian Endeavor, etc.) in the civilian church. The General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, working through the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, has coordinated the chaplaincy activities of the Protestant church bodies. The Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities, working through the Federal Council, has helped the

churches in such communities gear their programs to changed demands and where churches were inadequate has helped provide religious leadership and activities. The Commission on Religion and Health, also of the Federal Council, has, as a part of its activities, conducted an extensive program for training chaplains and ministers in counseling under wartime circumstances.

On May 17-18, 1944, these four agencies united in sponsoring "A National Conference on the Ministry of the Church to Returning Service Men and Women," in Baltimore, in an effort to awaken the churches to some of the serious difficulties of the demobilization process and the church's part in meeting them.

Postwar agencies will benefit directly from the wartime work of these groups. However, a broader foundation for reintegration is being laid in the varied and creative activities now a part of the program of many local churches. Nearly every church has an "honor roll" and is aware of its opportunity to serve and to maintain contact with servicemen and women and war workers who have gone from its community. Compiling the reports of 400 churches in a series of Seminars on Demobilization (sponsored by the Board of Education, The Methodist Church) 138 *different* activities could be listed.

In order to help coordinate the efforts of various denominations in preparing materials and programs for local churches, a new interdenominational "Committee on Services for the Demobilization Period" was set up in March 1944 by the International Council of Religious Education. The Committee went to Washington in May and spent three days in a series of group interviews of officials in twelve Federal agencies having some part in demobilization planning. This committee's work will be closely related to the activities of special demobilization committees set up by a number of denominations. The Congregational Christian Churches have such a committee. One of its projects has been the preparation of a series of phonograph records illustrating good counseling techniques. The

Wartime Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren has a subcommittee on demobilization problems. The Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, takes this responsibility for the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

The adult department of the Methodist Church's General Board of Education began its work on demobilization planning in September 1943, by studying the plans of forty-five nationwide agencies, both governmental and nongovernmental. Using this study and surveys of local churches as basic material, a series of fifteen Seminars on Demobilization were held in different regions of the country between November 1943 and March 1944. These Seminars reported many activities already conducted by local churches and outlined general principles for future action. To provide local church leaders with information on national developments the Board now issues "Demobilization Bulletins" every second month. "The Church Faces the Transition Period" was the theme for fifty adult and young adult summer conferences of the Methodist Church.

Out of all these developments has come some understanding of a strategy of approach for churches and of areas in which the work can be most effective. The church has special opportunities in communities of under 25,000 population. In larger cities there are usually many social and welfare agencies and more adequate governmental facilities for assisting in problems of social reintegration. In most smaller cities and towns these are absent. In these the churches and their ministers must assume many additional duties. Even more important is the church's part in maintaining a social cohesion essential to successful readjustments by those returning. More than half the population of the nation lives in these smaller communities.

There are four general steps of strategy for the church in the reintegration of those returning. The first step is study of the problems involved. The churches are being careful to keep up with nation-

wide plans so that they will know the general framework within which they can act. Basic studies in areas of domestic postwar problems, counseling, vocational guidance, legislation, and veterans organizations are being conducted now. In a local church this study should be of the *persons away* (analyzing such factors as employment, marital status, educational background, social relationships and church connections, and building its program to meet its own situation), and the *problems of the period*—both of the community and of the country. Such study is pertinent both to planning by church committees and officials and to fore-educating church members on immediate community problems.

The second step is to maintain continuous constructive contacts with those away. General agencies, such as the chaplaincy, the Service Men's Christian League, and the Commission for Camp and Defense Communities, function in this area. A local church can maintain such contacts through letters, church literature, missionary contacts, and special services. A church in Wichita, Kansas, held a special "Round the World Service" by sending out bulletins prepared months in advance containing the full service with words of hymn, scripture lesson, and Responsive Readings included. On the front was a clock showing the time in San Francisco, Melbourne, Bombay, Cairo, London, etc., when it was eleven o'clock, Sunday, 14 June, in Wichita. All those away were invited to go through the service at the same time, for back home their church would be doing the same thing.

The third step is welcoming those now returning. Special preparation of ministers for counseling, special welcoming committees, and special group activities for young men and women are being set up in many churches. Church periodicals are playing a significant role in keeping church members awake to their responsibilities for assisting in the process, for this cannot be done by the minister or a committee alone.

The fourth step is long-range planning for the demobilization

period after the war. Both denominational and interdenominational agencies are now holding planning and study conferences in order to prepare for this important work. Studies are being made of the effect of the war period on the local church program, men's work, women's work, youth work, missionary interest, membership, theology, and preaching.

The church as a whole may not assume a role of startling creativity and great prophetic insight in meeting America's postwar problems. Within the larger body of the church, however, are groups and agencies that are now making substantial and very significant contributions to the process of preparation. There is ample assurance that the church will be better prepared for the tensions of peace than it was for the problems of the war.

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EDITORIAL

If there ever was a time in American education when it could truly be said that liberal education is at the crossroads that time is today. At no time since the Civil War has there been so prolonged and so nearly complete an interruption of the work of our liberal-arts colleges as has occurred during the present war. As that war nears its termination it is only natural that many and searching questions should be raised relative to that liberal education which the war so rudely interrupted. For many years the practices of our liberal-arts colleges have been under severe criticism and attack. Some wanted to reform the colleges. Still others saw no useful purpose that they were serving and wished only for their early demise.

Now that it appears that before many more months the colleges may be able to return to their normal functions, the criticisms and the proposals for reform are increasing. In the main the criticisms are constructive. Few doubt that there will be fundamental changes in the curricula and organization of our liberal-arts colleges. Some of the reforms doubtless are long past due.

Of criticism there has been no end. What was much more badly needed, experimentation, has been exceedingly limited. There has, however, been some experimentation, as at Sarah Lawrence, Bard, Antioch, Bennington, Black Mountain, and Minnesota. This relatively limited experimentation should, and doubtless will, serve as

a basis for many of the reforms in liberal or general education following the war.

Then there is St. John's College. It was not possible to include it in the partial list of experimental colleges, since it is not so much an experiment as it is a highly publicized demonstration. Barr, Buchanan, Hutchins, Adler, and Van Doren have not been interested in trying to find out how to improve liberal education. They have constituted themselves a pressure group whose purpose appears to be to discredit all existing efforts at liberal education and to convince the public that the only true liberal education is that which is to be found at St. John's College. They are not experimenters; they are propagandists. Education For Freedom, Inc., their poorly conceived and badly executed radio publicity outlet of last spring, is characteristic of their efforts. So is Mark Van Doren's *Liberal Education*, which received such caustic reviews that people read it to see whether it could possibly be as bad as the reviewers said it was. It was.

It may be that St. John's College and its little band of vociferous publicists should be completely ignored by the educational world. If so, this special issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY should not have been published. For my part, however, I doubt the wisdom of such a course. The stakes are too great. If the public should become convinced that the right course for the redirection of liberal or general education is a retreat to the classics, educational progress would be set back more than one hundred years. Instead of having one-and-one-half million college students in this country as we had in the last year before the war, we would have only a mere handful of budding intellectuals who would thrive on the particular intellectual fare prescribed by St. John's College. There would be a similar reduction in high-school enrollments to perhaps ten per cent of the present level.

Does such a possibility sound unlikely? Of course it is. But do not forget that there are powerful vested interests, notably tax-conscious individuals and groups, that could well afford to spend millions of

dollars to bring about such an outcome. And do not think they would not do it if they saw any chance of success. Education For Freedom, Inc., had some rather impressive sponsors.

Critics of St. John's College would welcome an experiment to determine the extent to which an educational program based on the Great Books would serve the educational needs of a carefully selected group of American youth. What they object to is the unsubstantiated and extravagant claims of the Great Books boys, and their proclivity for attempting to destroy public confidence in all other approaches to the problem of liberal and general education.

Doubtless many readers of this issue of *THE JOURNAL* will wish that President Barr and Dean Buchanan had written in support of the St. John's program. The editor of this special issue and the editorial board of *THE JOURNAL* wish so, too. Both President Barr and Dean Buchanan were invited to contribute articles. Both refused.

Three of the contributors to this special issue of *THE JOURNAL*, Mr. George Salt, Mr. Matthew Whitehead, and Mr. Eugene Freel, visited St. John's College last spring while they were enrolled as graduate students in my course concerned with the improvement of instruction in colleges and universities. All three of these men are competent and experienced educators.

ALONZO F. MYERS

OUT OF THIS WORLD

George E. Salt

Many indictments have been made of contemporary American education, both at the college and lower levels. The Army training programs have discovered lacks in general training and have had to provide training in basic skills before special military training could be undertaken. Among these general indictments, the following criticisms might be mentioned as central: (1) the schools and colleges are not teaching their graduates and students to read with even the lowest level of comprehension; (2) the schools and colleges do not develop in their graduates the ability to act rationally, to think; (3) the schools and colleges have failed in their responsibility to develop ethical character and moral sense. In addition to these central criticisms, the failure of the schools to raise the level of aesthetic appreciation in their graduates has been pointed out. Witness the sterility of contemporary literary products, and the mass of "trashy" periodicals that can be seen on any newsstand. Other criticisms are made, but these are the most important.

These same statements have been made by proponents of opposing schools of education. "Progressives" and the "traditionalists" alike have made similar statements. The generality of these indictments and the evidence that could be brought to bear to support their truth makes them of some concern to all who are interested in American education.

The Hutchins-Barr-Adler-Buchanan group proposes as a remedy for this condition the return to a curriculum based on the great books. This has particular appeal to those who find pleasure in reading and who are acquainted with some of the great books, and have received value from their reading.

The St. John's College curriculum is based on the reading of the "hundred best books." When the opportunity arose to visit St. John's College, a group of us with varied educational beliefs and opinions

determined to approach our visit in as objective a frame of mind as possible. A visit limited to two days—in which opportunities were provided for visiting only one of each of the various groups to be found at St. John's College—can give only a general impression of the program. Perhaps a later and more extensive visit would provide a somewhat different picture of this type of curriculum in action. President Barr and Dean Buchanan permitted visitation to any of the groups, the one restriction being that visitors were not to enter into any of the discussions. Opportunities were provided for informal discussion with some of the students, and President Barr and Dean Buchanan gave some of their time for discussion.

It was my good fortune to attend one of President Barr's seminars, a mathematics tutorial, and a formal lecture on "Grammar."

President Barr's seminar met for a two-hour discussion of Rabelais's *Pantagruel*. It was attended by sixteen students, of whom all but three made some contribution to the discussion. The burden of the discussion, however, was carried by Mr. Barr and three of the students. President Barr started the discussion by asking if any of the students had felt any bitterness underneath the humor in Rabelais. A student remarked, "It was so vulgar that I didn't think it was funny." From this point on, the discussion centered around the nature of humor, and the differences between comedy and tragedy. President Barr made the statement that whenever he laughed it was because he had seen an act that represented man dominated by his animal nature. Since man's "humanness" depends on the suppression of the "mammal within," whenever a man acts in such a way that the animal nature is revealed, it is a humorous situation. President Barr was challenged on this point by several of the students, and he gave this example: In the early Chaplin comedies, Charlie often used to push open the old-type swinging saloon doors, let the doors swing back, hit him in the head, and knock him to the ground. This was a comic situation because it revealed stupidity; stupidity is a vice; the vices belong to the animal nature of man;

therefore the situation was humorous. As the students continued to challenge President Barr, he asked them to give any example from the text that could not be reduced to the common denominator of the animal nature revealed in action. Many examples were mentioned and thus reduced. One of the students asked if puns, and other plays on words, fitted into this category. President Barr admitted defeat, adding that he was referring only to acts. This line of discussion lasted for about forty minutes of the two-hour period. Tragedy was differentiated as a serious struggle between the animal and spiritual natures in which the spiritual was finally dominant.

The next discussion departed from an incident in the text which brought up the question, "Is an act virtuous or vicious because of the intent or because of the completed act?" Three students and President Barr argued this point for the remainder of the session. President Barr took the position that judgment could occur only after the completion of the act, while one of the students continued to defend the position that it was the intent that determined the judgment of the act. Many examples were given and discussed. There was no resolution of the point of difference. Shortly before the end of the period, one student tried to make an equation that represented the relationships between the various characters in the text. This was discussed briefly, President Barr saying that he disagreed. As the period ended, the decision was reached and stated by President Barr that there was bitterness in Rabelaisian humor. How this decision was reached on the basis of the group discussion shall remain a mystery.

After the session, President Barr apologized for the discussion, saying that the text was one that did not have many potentialities for interesting discussion.

The second group visited was a second-year mathematics tutorial which had just embarked on the study of trigonometry and geometry. At the beginning of the class hour, the tutor assigned orally problems involving the use of trigonometric functions to be

worked out before the next class period. He then asked if there were any questions on material which had been assigned for this class period. There were no questions raised by the students.

The tutor then asked for volunteers from the group to derive on the board the law of the sine. After several minutes had passed and no one had volunteered, he began going the rounds of the group, asking the students if they would attempt it. One after another of the students shook his head, one saying, "Really, sir, I just don't understand it." Finally, one student said he would make the attempt and went to the board to derive his formulas and work out the opening steps of the problem. However, whenever he came to a point at which some operation was necessary, he was unable to do it correctly. The tutor would then ask for any one in the group to perform the operation. In one or two instances, the procedure was correctly indicated by a student. In the large majority of cases, the tutor himself stepped to the board and performed the necessary work. There was little opportunity given for discussion of the steps involved, and the tutor made little effort to clarify the procedure. After the law of the sine had been derived, the same procedure was followed for deriving the law of the cosine, and this, too, was carried out in the same manner. This had taken a considerable part of the class hour and, to conclude the hour, the tutor went over hurriedly the pages of a mimeographed book which the students had on the material, asking if the material were clear and if there were any questions. Only one question was raised and answered, although it seemed fairly obvious from the expressions and shaking of heads that many of the students did not understand the material.

One would expect the tutor to cover carefully the steps involved in these procedures, and to clarify the relationships involved in the trigonometric functions. This was not done and the class period was ended by the tutor saying, "For the next meeting the students should prepare the problems and read the first 25 pages of Descartes' *Geometrie*." It was unfortunate that the tutor had another respon-

sibility to meet for there was no opportunity to discuss the work of the group with him.

The last meeting we attended was one of the weekly formal lectures. We were told beforehand by a student that this lecture had been given at the same time in the previous year, and one student told us something of the content of the lecture, the subject of which was grammar. The lecture was attended by the entire student body, the faculty, and numerous people from the town. At the beginning of the hour, after the students had been seated, President Barr made a few general announcements and then announced the lecturer of the evening and his subject. At this point the lecturer entered from a side door and every one in the room arose until he had taken his place on the platform. The discussion centered on universal grammar and dialectic, and I must confess that this approach to the problem had little meaning to those of us who were visiting.

The lecturer evidently had little concern for the people who were listening to him and seemed oblivious to the fact that many people were not understanding him. The attention of the students was lost completely at several points during the course of the lecture, as was indicated by an undercurrent of confusion, shuffling of feet, and scraping of chairs. However, each time this occurred, the students immediately snapped back into attention and the noise stopped. As the lecturer concluded and left the platform, the students again stood, applauding loudly and turning their heads to look at the lecturer as he left the room. President Barr invited the students to attend an informal discussion of the lecture in the lounge, but very few students seemed to care to attend this discussion. If one can place any validity on general impressions, it would have to be admitted that the only impression possible was that, as had the visitors, few of the students had understood the lecture.

It would have been possible to visit one science group but the students were engaged in cutting out sections of paper and gluing

them as a preface to the study of conic sections. As there was no discussion in this group, it seemed pointless to visit it.

One of the students asked if we had seen the library and volunteered to show it to us. We were impressed with the number of shelf arrangements of the "hundred books": by authors, by title, by chronology, etc. Somewhat proudly, the students told us that this was the place in which the freshmen were inducted into the St. John's program, meetings being held there prior to the opening of the regular classes. He also told us that the faculty held current-events discussions in the library but that the students were not permitted to attend.

One of the most impressive features of the library was the lack of current periodicals and books on the shelves. Upon being asked whether the students did any reading of newspapers and periodicals, the student replied that most of them did when they came but that the burden of reading the great books within the limited time allotted soon resulted in inability to find the time to keep up with current readings. Asked what he thought the students felt about this, he replied that some of them resented it, one or two of them even went so far as to continue to read *The New Republic*, but others soon gave up entirely.

It might be questioned whether this is a fair sampling of the St. John's program in action, or whether it is valid to draw any conclusions on the basis of such limited exposure to the program. Is this an adequate education? Will it meet the criticisms of American education made by the supporters of the St. John's curriculum?

The literature by Stringfellow Barr, Mark Van Doren, and Robert Hutchins relevant to the St. John's College program is very appealing. As one reads, one may be led to feel, if he himself has found satisfactions in reading great books, that here is the answer to our educational problem, and this is the program that should be followed by all students. President Barr made the statement in discus-

sion that the only democratic college in the United States is St. John's. Admitting that he did not agree at this point with Dr Hutchins, he based his statement on the following reasons: All students are permitted to enter St. John's College; all can benefit by an exposure to the great books; there are no elaborate plans for elimination of students on the basis of scholastic aptitude tests, entrance requirements, etc.; all have a chance. The average American college or university is not democratic since it admits that some students have to be eliminated. The reason, according to President Barr, is not because the students are not intelligent but because the stuff that is taught is unimportant. The professors are incompetent, the material which they are teaching is unimportant; hence they must blame some one for their failure. The easiest way is to say that the student is not college material. Asked if people in some of the artisan trades would profit by exposure to the St. John's curriculum, he asserted that we would have much better plumbers had they attended St. John's College.

Basically, the method of appeal in the literature is extremely simple. Perhaps therein lies its strength. Many of their discussions begin with the generalized criticisms of contemporary education mentioned above, criticisms that are so general that every one can accept them, criticisms that are not only being made by the advocates of the St. John's plan but also by those opposed to it.

Along with the general assertions regarding the failures of American education, one always finds some statement for the underlying reasons: (1) the prevalence of the elective system, (2) the use of watered-down textbooks in place of original texts, (3) dependence on knowledge of the present with consequent failure to develop historical perspective, (4) a fragmentary curriculum that lacks integration, (5) lack of needed differentiation of program to make allowance for individual differences, (6) too much dependence on the immediate concerns and interests of the students as guides in the selection of subject matter and curricular experiences.

At this point in the discussion of the "Idea of the College," the St. John's plan, or the reading of the great books, is proposed as *the* answer to problems of education. The basic assumptions of the plan are not made clearly evident but are implicit in the material. Accepting the fact that all argument is based on premise, it might be helpful in examining the St. John's curriculum to attempt to draw a statement of the premises of their position:

1. The individual is animal at birth though endowed with the capacity (mind) for rising above his animality. His humanization occurs as moral and intellectual training succeeds in overcoming his animalistic tendencies. This is accomplished through inculcating in him the great truths that exist in the human heritage. This must be done in some way, no matter what disciplinary measures have to be used. There must ultimately be self-discipline (insofar as one's intellectual capacity enables it to develop) but this self-discipline can be achieved only through the instrument of the mind. Thus we find the discussion in the seminar of humor as man's failure to realize his capacity for suppressing his animal nature.

2. In the course of human history, superior minds have achieved intuitive insights into the nature of the universe and the destiny of man, and have perceived moral and ethical truths. If one accepts this assumption, the next follows that, since the great books are the embodiment of the great racial truths—products of superior minds—the best means of education will be the reading of these documents. The readings will be beneficial in two ways: they will expose the individual to the racial heritage of meanings and they will provide the best material for strengthening the powers of the mind. Thus, the educational problem becomes that of determining what are the great books and exposing the students to them.

3. Individuals vary greatly in their mental capacity. They can achieve humanness in direct ratio to their mental capacity since the mind is the instrument through which humanness is achieved. Thus we find that in the recognition of different levels of men some

"handminded" will not be able to achieve the level of living possible for those of higher intellect.

4. Acceptance of transfer of training and the validity of mental discipline. As a result, one need only know basic principles, follow a rigorous program of intellectual athletics, and training for specific kinds of situations is unnecessary. Therefore it becomes unnecessary for the school to be concerned with contemporary issues which are transitory in nature since the student will be able to handle problems by virtue of his mental training.

If one accepts these premises, the St. John's program is inevitable. One must therefore either criticize the St. John's program by refuting their premises or by determining how well the actual teaching procedure is based on and carries out their theory. Since the refutation of these premises and the establishment of alternate premises has taken William James, John Dewey, Boyd Bode, William H. Kilpatrick, and others many volumes, it will only be possible here to state what they are and the criticisms of the humanist position they imply:

1. That Mind, while it exists in nature, is superior to nature and enables man to rise above his animality. The instrumental pragmatist will insist that Mind is a function of the biological organism that has emerged through the interaction of organism and environment. It is a part of total organic behavior, and as such cannot be separated from the continuum of experience (except verbally), therefore, it is false to assume that one can treat Mind as a separate entity capable of special training apart from the consideration of the whole organism acting in an environment. What evidences are there of Mind as a discrete entity? If "mental activity" is a part of (or a phase in) total organic behavior, and "behavior" is a function of organic environmental interaction, one can expect changes in "mind" to occur as organic activity leads to environmental change—and vice versa.

If one could accept "animality" as a convenient figure of speech,

and forget the means by which his animality is to be overcome, this assumption would not conflict greatly with the notion that man is amoral at birth. As the concept of Mind in the context of humanistic theory is inadequate, the acquisition of "moral character" must necessitate more than formal discipline and the reading of the great documents. It must include opportunities for the development of acceptable behavior patterns in terms of the individual's dynamic needs, and the culture's potentialities for fulfilling them. It would seem that the division of the human organism into two parts is no longer the best explanation of the complexities of human behavior. Many writers have pointed out that any human act is multivalued (having an exceedingly complex motivation). In a sense it is "intelligence" that enables the development of moral character but not in the sense of a Mind to be filled with principles or great "moral truths in poetry."

2 Superior minds have achieved intuitive insights into the nature of the universe that have resulted in the perception of eternal moral and ethical truths. The opposing position would be that these insights do not represent absolute "truths" but are a function of the culture in which they appear. It would not deny that some men have perceived more complex relationships of organisms to environment than others, nor that many ethical statements made in the past have not been surpassed. It is a mistake to teach them as absolutes, since it is conceivable that the need for other ethical hypotheses may emerge from changing organo-environmental relationships.

The great books *are* the embodiment of the great ethical and moral truths that have emerged from past cultural contacts. Does it necessarily follow that they alone are the best materials for an educational program? If these books were read in order to gain an historical perspective, and their contents treated as the product of the cultural milieu in which they appeared as the statements of the world view of the time, and then contrasted to the contemporary world view of the scientist, one could agree that they would have

educative value (for those verbally adept). But this is not the way they are treated. As one third-year St. John's student told me when I asked if they were ever given an opportunity to criticize the Aristotelian system, "Yes, we read Kant and Hegel, but you soon come to realize that Aristotle had a pretty complete system. . . . No, we don't read any criticism later than the nineteenth century." President Barr would say (and here is another contradiction in the position) that "Whether the statements in the books are true or false doesn't matter. . . . It is the training the students receive from the contact with great minds." Perhaps Van Doren and President Barr are at outs too, for Van Doren refers to "building up a rich fund of meanings." What is a meaning? A principle *in vacuo*? Evidently *one* student at St. John's had accepted as truth the content of Aristotle. The Nichomachean Ethics might be significant for historical study, but they might be faulty as active ethical principles for the twentieth century. Do we have any reason for believing that one can find a direct parallel between the ethical problems that will arise in the next few years as we are faced with the necessity of developing a highly complex world organization and the problems that faced the limited world of the Greeks?

3. That individuals vary greatly in their intellectual capacity, and they can achieve "humanness" in direct ratio to their mental capacity. Is there a contradiction here in the humanist position, or at least a difference of position between various writers? If Hutchins assumes that some people are "handminded," but must by some means develop ethical character, how can it be held that the intelligence is the instrument through which morality is to be achieved? Of course one might assume that these "inferior" non-intellectuals are a group that must be held in check by force if necessary. If this *is* the implication, how can one be consistent in terms of devotion to a democratic way for the Good Life? It would also seem that the measure of "intelligence" would be that of verbal ability, plus the ability to generalize and develop principles. President Barr

admits breaking with Hutchins at this point, assuming that if one cannot read the great books he will benefit by being a member of a group reading and discussing the great books. No doubt such a boy would be disciplined by this procedure, but what evidence is there that would support a theory of intellectual osmosis?

That there are *differences* in ability to handle verbal materials all would admit. That verbal ability is the *only* measure of intelligence seems doubtful, especially since instruments designed to test "general intelligence" reveal vastly different results when given to the same individual—if the tests are constructed on both verbalistic and nonverbalistic questions and responses. Then, too, there has been some evidence in recent years that the I.Q. is not fixed but is variable. Many psychologists would admit that not too much is known about the nature of "intelligence." Again, it is most convenient to have a direct line with God via Aristotle.

4. That transfer of training occurs. President Barr's position in regard to this was stated in an address at New York University. "Yes, we believe in transfer of training. You couldn't expect transfer to occur when the schools have used the materials they have. If people read the great books, transfer will occur because the principles are so generally applicable." One could find dozens of experiments refuting the transfer of training; it will be interesting to see if the graduates of St. John's as they go on to other institutions do transfer their training in "principles." It is perhaps unfortunate that because of the war there are so few going on. One would like to predict that this will explode the St. John's myth sooner than anything else.

It could very well be argued that it would be impossible to teach all of the specific items which one might find necessary in the course of a life-time. This of course is unanswerable since it would obviously be impossible. However, that would not mean that the most useful principles would be the ones discovered through a reading of the great books. Probably some fairly legitimate guesses can be

made as to the areas of contemporary knowledge which can be useful to students and assume that, once lead to think about on-going contemporary matters of importance, the necessity of living in one's environment would lead to a continuing process of education. The educational process could not be thought of as being closed at any point, unless of course one assumes eternal principles. Then, once having had the principles, assuming transfer of training, one's education is in a sense complete.

Accepting the premises of the pragmatic educationalists, one could not accept the St. John's curriculum. The answer should probably be on which side the greatest mass of experimental evidence can be collected. But then again, that in itself is a pragmatic answer. It will be interesting to see what means is used by the St. John's College proponents to evaluate results of their program in terms of the success of their graduates in life or in other colleges and universities. Will those graduates who go on to professional schools find that they can compete with the graduates of other colleges and universities? Will the training in "principles" carry a student through the arduous years of medical school, or will he find other training necessary? Will there be more statesmen and diplomats developed from the St. John's graduates, or will they be unable to occupy important positions in public life?

One may also ask the question: Do the classes at St. John's indicate that the best efforts are being made to make the program work? If St. John's teaches all to read intelligently, why was there no attempt to bring all of the students into the discussion in the seminar? If dialectical discussion of this nature is the device for teaching rationality, were those students who were quite evidently not listening to the discussion, much less not participating, learning the principle of judgment of acts? The only "application" to contemporary life was made when one student asked President Barr if one would observe more "comic" people in the streets of Annapolis than "tragic." The answer was "probably, since there are more stupid

people than otherwise, and stupidity is comic." There was no organized discussion of the text, nor attempt to do anything but take bits out of the text in order to illustrate principles that had been stated in discussion. I should have liked to have been able to ask how many of the students had read the text. Their reading schedule gave two weeks (including two seminar periods two hours in length) for the reading of Rabelais. Can this text be read and understood in this length of time? Similarly, can one read the hundred books, understand them, and assimilate them in four years?

The mathematics tutorial seemed to be questionable teaching of mathematical principles. Why was there no attempt made to make clear the points which apparently were not understood by the students? Could one ask if the students were ready to proceed to a reading and discussion of the first 25 pages of Descartes' *Geometrie* when the previous work had not been assimilated? Was the lecturer unaware that his discussion of grammar was not being understood by many of the students? Or was the assumption, since the lecture was being given for at least the second time, that heard often enough, the students would eventually comprehend?

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LIBERAL EDUCATION—QUO VADIS?

Matthew J. Whitehead

On a sloping hill within a stone's throw of the United States Naval Academy stands St. John's College, the third oldest college in America. It is a small nondenominational institution for men, devoting itself to reclaiming a lost heritage through a four-year all-required curriculum based on the study of the Great Books

The purpose of St. John's, according to the charter granted it in 1784, was "the liberal education of youth in the principles of virtue, knowledge, and useful literature" A statement of purpose taken from the King William's School catalogue reveals the object of the institution as "the propagation of good learning "

St. John's, from its beginning in 1696 to 1885, offered a classical curriculum to all of its students. The period from 1886 to 1923 was characterized by a curriculum of block electives and military training with four curricula: (1) the classical course leading to the A.B. degree, (2) the Latin scientific course leading to the B.S. degree, (3) the scientific course leading to the B.S. degree, and (4) the mechanical engineering course leading to the M.E. degree. The period from 1923 to 1937 was a period of progressive studies under the open elective system. With the appointment of Stringfellow Barr as president in 1937 came the restoration of the traditional program of classics and liberal arts unique in American colleges today.

Instructional and Administrative Policies

The student's program of study at St. John's College consists of "the great books," a list of books chosen over a period of nearly twenty years by auxiliary teachers in various places, notably Columbia University, the University of Chicago, the University of Virginia, and St. John's College. These Great Books are classified as the students' real teachers, and the faculty of tutors and fellows act as auxiliary intermediaries between the books and the students.

Four criteria were used in the selection of the books on the list:

1. A classic must be a masterpiece in the liberal arts.
 2. A classic must be a work of fine art.
 3. The internal structure of the classic. . .
 4. A great book should raise the persistent and humanly unanswerable questions about the great themes in human experiences.
- The complete list of Great Books used at St. John's is included in this article.

THE GREAT BOOKS LISTED IN ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE CATALOGUE—
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Homer: <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i>	Pascal: <i>Pensées</i>
Aeschylus: <i>Oresteia</i>	Milton: <i>Paradise Lost</i>
Herodotus: <i>History</i>	Racine: <i>Phèdre</i>
Sophocles: <i>Oedipus Rex</i>	Grotius: <i>Law of War and Peace</i>
Hippocrates: <i>Ancient Medicine, and Airs, Waters and Places</i>	Spinoza: <i>Ethics, Theological-Political Treatise</i>
Euripides: <i>Medea</i>	Newton: <i>Principia Mathematica</i>
Thucydides: <i>History of Peloponnesian War</i>	Locke: <i>Second Treatise on Civil Government</i>
Aristophanes: <i>Frogs, Clouds, Birds</i>	Huygens: <i>Treatise on Light</i>
Aristarchus: <i>On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon</i>	Berkeley: <i>Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous</i>
Plato: <i>Dialogues</i>	Leibnitz: <i>Discourse on Metaphysics</i>
Aristotle: <i>Organon, Poetics, Physics, Politics</i>	<i>Monadology</i>
Archimedes: <i>Selected Works</i>	Vico: <i>Scienza Nuova</i>
Euclid: <i>Elements</i>	Swift: <i>Gulliver's Travels</i>
Apollonius: <i>Conics</i>	Hume: <i>Treatise on Human Nature</i>
Cicero: <i>On Duties</i>	Montesquieu: <i>Spirit of Laws</i>
Lucretius: <i>On the Nature of Things</i>	Fielding: <i>Tom Jones</i>
Vergil: <i>Aeneid</i>	Voltaire: <i>Candide, Micromégas</i>
The Bible	Rousseau: <i>Social Contract</i>
Epictetus: <i>Moral Discourses</i>	Gibbon: <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i>
Nicomachus: <i>Introduction to Arithmetic</i>	Smith: <i>Wealth of Nations</i>
	Kant: <i>Critique of Pure Reason</i>

- Plutarch: Lives
 Tacitus: The History, The Annals
 Ptolemy: Mathematical Composition
 Lucian: True History
 Galen: On the Natural Faculties
 Plotinus: Enneads
 Augustine: Confessions, On Music, Concerning the Teacher
 Justinian: Institutes
 Song of Roland
 Saga of Burnt Njal
 Grosseteste: On Light
 Bonaventure: On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology
 Aquinas: On Being and Essence, Treatise on God, Treatise on Man
 Dante: Divine Comedy
 Chaucer: Canterbury Tales
 Oresme: On the Breadths of Forms
 Pico della Mirandola: On the Dignity of Man
 Leonardo: Note Books
 Machiavelli: The Prince
 Erasmus: In Praise of Folly
 Rabelais: Gargantua
 Copernicus: On Revolutions of the Spheres
 Calvin: Institutes
 Montaigne: Essays
 Gilbert: On the Loadstone
 Cervantes: Don Quixote
 Shakespeare: Henry IV, Hamlet, King Lear, Macbeth, Tempest
 Francis Bacon: Novum Organum
 Kepler: Epitome of Astronomy
 Harvey: On the Motion of the Heart
 Constitution of the United States
 Federalist Papers
 Bentham: Principles of Morals and Legislation
 Lavoisier: Treatise on Chemistry
 Malthus: Principles of Population
 Dalton: New System of Chemical Philosophy
 Hegel: Philosophy of History
 Fournier: Analytical Theory of Heat
 Goethe: Faust
 Lobachevski: Theory of Parallels
 Faraday: Experimental Researches in Electricity
 Peacock: Treatise on Algebra
 Boole: Laws of Thought
 Virchow: Cellular Pathology
 Mill: On Liberty
 Darwin: Origin of Species
 Bernard: Introduction to Experimental Medicine
 Mendel: Experiments in Plant Hybridization
 Riemann: Hypotheses of Geometry
 Dostoevski: The Brothers Karamazov
 Marx: Capital
 Tolstoi: War and Peace
 Dedekind: Essays on Numbers
 Maxwell: Electricity and Magnetism
 Flaubert: Fouvard and Pécuchet
 Ibsen: Ghosts, Rosmersholm
 Joule: Scientific Papers
 James: Principles of Psychology
 Freud: Studies in Hysteria, Interpretation of Dreams

Cornelle: <i>Le Cid</i>	Cantor: Transfinite Numbers
Galileo: Two New Sciences	Hilbert: Foundations of Geometry
Descartes: Geometry, Discourse on Method, Meditations	Poincaré: Science and Hypothesis
Hobbes: <i>Leviathan</i>	Russell: Principles of Mathematics
Boyle: <i>Sceptical Chymist</i>	Veblen and Young: Projective Geometry
Molière: <i>Tartuffe</i>	

The teaching techniques employed at St. John's consist of instruction for all students in a language tutorial, mathematics tutorial, seminar, laboratory, and lecture. Of these, the seminar is the immediate educational end which the college is aiming at, the others serve as secondary contributions. Instruction received by the students in the tutorials, laboratory, and lecture is integrated by the seminar, which is a sort of "clearing house" of intellectual expression.

Upon the satisfactory completion of the study of the "great books," students are graduated Bachelor of Arts, *magna cum laude*, signifying that they are judged satisfactory both in attainments and progress, and capable of pursuing their work in law, medicine, and theology or in the graduate schools; Bachelor of Arts, *cum laude*, signifying the same conditions of *magna cum laude*, however, of a less eminent degree; and, Bachelor of Arts, *rite*, signifying that such students have made sufficient progress in the intellectual virtues to warrant recognition by the college, but on whose actual powers of operation in the several arts and sciences, and therefore on whose actual capacity for advancing further in professional or graduate schools, the faculty declines to make a final judgment.

Aside from the teaching techniques afore described, each student at the end of his third year takes four written enabling examinations, one in language, one in mathematics, two in laboratory, theoretical and operational, and one oral examination in seminar readings. Upon the successful completion of these examinations, if the student is accepted as a candidate for a degree or allowed to remain

the fourth year, he must select a subject for a dissertation which is to be publicly expounded, amplified, and interpreted satisfactorily by him prior to the granting of the degree.

The "St Johnnies" (as the boys are called), who hold the degree of Bachelor of Arts, are supposed to represent competence in the modern equivalent of the seven liberal arts, and the degree further implies that the St. Johnnies have:

- 1 Knowledge of the contents of the required books in the list.
2. Competence in mathematics through elementary calculus,
3. A reading knowledge of at least two foreign languages, and,
- 4 An aggregate total of four hundred and fifty hours of training in laboratory.

The program at St. John's is unique, it is deep-rooted in mental disciplines; it possesses an educational philosophy which is accepted by tutor and student alike. It is a blueprint in America of the English colleges. There are many Americans who question the wisdom of such a plan of operation

Observations and Conclusions

The preceding portion of this article has presented the program at St. John's College in an objective manner, based largely on documentary sources. The part which follows must of necessity be largely subjective in nature. Nevertheless, this observer has endeavored to relate his observations in an unbiased manner. Terming the title of the articles as "Liberal Education—Quo Vadis?" he is tempted to call this part "Confusion on the Severn," or "A Depreciation of the Classics at St. John's College." The writer is aware, however, that a brief visit to an institution does not provide an adequate basis for final judgment.

Our stay at the college (two fellow graduate students and myself) was long enough to see the functioning of the fivefold instructional procedure: the seminar, the language and mathematics tutorials, the laboratory, and the formal lecture. Each of us visited a different

seminar. One of my colleagues visited the junior seminar in Rabelais, the other the sophomore seminar in Vergil; and I visited the freshman seminar in Homer.

The Homer Seminar

The students in this seminar had been reading the *Iliad* of Homer. There were twenty "Johnnies" in this group who ranged in age from 14 to 17. Although these youngsters had been at St. John's only two weeks, they had completed the reading of the text. This seminar was the third conducted on the *Iliad*.

The tutor opened the discussion by relating the conclusions which they had arrived at in the previous discussions. In his commentary, he pointed out that the feeling which Achilles had was a blow to his honor. From this statement a very lively discussion developed. In an attempt to support the philosophy which he held, one of the students quoted from Book VI of the *Iliad* the speech of Glouchas: "He sent me to excel—and bade me be the best." From this statement the class attempted to interpret the meaning, and discussed the thesis. "Whether it was winning that counted or how well one played the game", one performing his task to the best of his ability whether he won or lost. Some pertinent remarks were here made by students which were substantiated by current references to the Pacific theater of war.

This discussion evoked the question from the tutor, "What was Achilles fighting for?" To this query, answers of "fame," "honor," and "glory" were shouted by the boys. These terms became so involved that they soon included other issues as requisites for honor. These issues were also related to the present global war in a very timely discussion of war medals, awards, and citations. At this point, one of the boys read a passage from the *Iliad*, and asked the question "What is the difference in honor bestowed by men and honor bestowed by the gods?" Passages from the *Iliad* were quoted to support both views, as well as references which were made to

Nietzsche, Plato, Aristotle, and Beethoven. The boys for the first time (to my mind) were confused and did not grasp the applications of the preceding references which the tutor made to Nietzsche, Plato, Aristotle, and Beethoven.

The discussion then centered around the thesis: "What are some of the values obtained by fighting?" "What were some of the values the Trojans were fighting for?" Such answers as, "fame," "honor," "glory," "force," "power," "love," "prowess," "beauty," and "freedom" received intelligent discussions. As the tutor began to coordinate and integrate the discussion of the evening, it was time for the seminar to end.

To my mind, this was the most impressive as well as the best piece of teaching which I observed at St. John's. Tutor and students, alike, were interested and responsive; discussions were live, relevant, provocative, and showed signs of previous reading; various attempts were made to link the war between the Greeks and the Trojans to the present world conflict. The spontaneity of this group of youngsters was surprising; and the tutor for this group was an excellent teacher—an inspirer of men.

The Language Tutorials

The next group which I observed was a group of juniors in a French tutorial. The class which consisted of ten students was reading Pascal's *Pensées*. Although the St. John's catalogue had stated that it was not their intention to give individuals enough French to go out and organize French circles, I was expecting that the students would at least get some basic techniques of the language and interpretations of Pascal's philosophy; however, my expectation was unrewarded.

The tutor called for students to translate a passage into English. The passage which consisted of five lines was very easy French. I had not read any French literature for five years, but I did not have any difficulty translating the passage. After three unsuccessful attempts by the students, one boy read the French (very poorly), then

dropped the text, and, from a notebook into which he had previously transcribed it, read the translation of the five lines.

The translation of this passage brought into a rather lengthy discussion the philosophies of Kepler, Aristotle, and Plato, which was centered around the "marriage of the intuitive and the mathematical minds." From this incomplete, unorganized, sketchy, rambling lesson in ethics, philosophy, science, theology (everything but French), the tutor proceeded with French grammar.

The brunt of the class discussion in this class was carried by two boys; the others showed lack of interest.

Students at St. John's take one language each year. In the freshman year, Greek, in the sophomore year, Latin, in the junior year, French, and in the senior year, German. The current catalogue states on page 27, "It is important that students come to these tutorials with some previous experience in foreign languages, if we are to be successful in this drastic regimen to stretch the linguistic sense." In the first place, it is obvious to an observer that the students are not bringing in this experience; in the second place, with the admittance of students who have completed only two years of high-school work, St. John's cannot or rather should not expect "the linguistic sense." St. John's is doing for the classics what they criticize other liberal education of doing—*scratching the surface*. In the words of President Barr, in a recent address at New York University Faculty Club, "We need to learn to read so that we can ask the question of a great book—is what the author said true?" There is little chance for the Johnnies to place this philosophy into operation in the light of the instruction which they are receiving in languages in the tutorials. To my mind, it is a smattering administered in a state of confusion.

Mathematics Tutorials

The mathematics tutorials differ from the language tutorials in that the Johnnies do receive *content matter*. This tutorial which I visited was conducted by a tutor who was unable to secure the in-

terest of his pupils. The previous assignment which he had made was not understood by the boys in this class, as was evidenced by the lack of preparation on the part of the class, and the failure of the boys to perform simple functional operations in trigonometry.

This class was void of interest, motivation, and socialization. Most of the students seemed bored at the entire procedure. The tutor did not make use of drill or repetition, nor did he recognize any individual differences; in fact, he proceeded to give an advanced assignment in Descartes for the next class session, when it was very obvious to those of us observing that class, and to the Johnnies as well, that they did not know the assignment that they were leaving. This is a further example of the speed in the St. John's program, which impresses one with the tutor's being interested in seeing that a certain amount of ground is covered irrespective of the qualitative aspect in the learning process. To this observer, two weeks do not seem adequate for a group of undergraduates to master the principles of trigonometry.

In the annual catalogue of 1944, page 21, the statement is made that "St. John's has more required mathematics than any other liberal college in this country." St. John's may offer or require more mathematics of its students than any other liberal college in this country, but it seems logical to this observer that this amount could be greatly reduced, concentrating on fewer basic courses or more comprehensive and integrated courses. It goes without saying that the "end product," the student, would greatly profit thereby.

The St. John's Laboratory

St. John's also makes the statement that they require more laboratory work than any other liberal college in the country. It is true that students at St. John's put in more actual class attendance hours, but the nature of the work when viewed in comparison with other liberal colleges is a combination of industrial and applied arts, and mechanical drawing. A glance at the list of laboratory exercises will

reveal the multifarious experiments which students are expected to perform in four years. Aside from the inadequacy of time, one also wonders at the amount of equipment the Johnnies have to work with in performing these operations. It is unfortunate for youths to be exposed to so wide a variety of scientific materials with little or no provisions made for integrating the advancements made by contemporary scientific achievements; example, medicine is taught in the atmosphere of Galen, Newton, Kepler, and Galileo, and the students do not concern themselves in the study of medicine with such modernity as the sulfa drugs, penicillin, or any modern discoveries or techniques.

The Formal Lecture

Each Friday evening the St. Johnnies and the tutors gather in the Great Hall for the formal lecture. This is also a required feature of the program. The lectures are given by tutors and guest lecturers.

The lecture which we heard was on "Grammar." It was highly philosophical, inarticulate, and void of audience appeal. I must admit that the tutor's development of the thesis was so philosophical that I was "lost" (and I am of the opinion that most of the St. Johnnies were, too).

The philosophy underlying the formal lecture is to teach students to learn to listen to good talks, and to be able to absorb and retain the conversational art. I think that these are excellent virtues to develop, but improvement could and should be made in the topics chosen for discussion. To my mind, this feature of the program could be made a valuable force not only in disseminating knowledge to students and in developing aesthetic appreciation, but in serving as an integrative force of the complete curriculum.

Administration and Faculty

There is little need for administrative machinery at St. John's since the same program is required of all students, and the "great

books" supply student guidance (the cure-all for student maladies). In the St. John's program the dean and president teach, and by so doing are able to keep in close contact with both students and tutors, as well as gain an over-all picture of the program. Personally, I think that this administrative device is excellent. The dean in a program of this type, being relieved of office routine and clerical duties, has ample opportunity for educational research and direction and planning of curriculum improvements.

Supposedly, the real miracle of St. John's is not the books or the students, but the teachers. The faculty, supposedly, have familiarized themselves with every field of knowledge. This type of training is needed for the successful operation of such a plan, where every faculty member is expected to be able to teach any of the seven liberal arts.

If this were done at St. John's, I feel that the caliber of instruction would be more purposeful and directed, but, from actual observations and catalogue listing, one soon receives the impression that this is the weakest link in the entire program. The faculty must, of necessity, be increased as well as improved and retrained to teach all of the seven liberal arts. To be able to teach and integrate the seven liberal arts requires *master* teachers.

Innovative ideas and experimentation are good for liberal education; the inherent philosophy of the "humanistic approach" can be made to work to advantage, but, as the approach is being administered at St. John's, I still say, "Liberal education, whither goest thou?"

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SOUNDLY SLEEP THE SEVEN SLEEPERS ON THE SEVERN

Eugene L. Freel

It is Eastertime in the drowsy old town of Annapolis. The orioles have not yet appeared, the blue waters of the bay are crowded with jellyfish but not bathers, and the crack of bat against ball is only just starting to disturb the warlike confines of the Naval Academy, but nevertheless spring has definitely arrived.

Although the student body at St. John's does not read the newspaper, even *The Spectator*, and presumably, therefore, neither the book-review section, word must have managed to seep through of Mr. Mark Van Doren's new book of poems. Poetry itself is one of the infallible signs of spring, and the long winter of rest after the exertions of the *liberal education* is no doubt a good antidote for the blossoming of the lyrical exuberance of poetry, perhaps to be added fuel to the intellectual bonfire on the campus, blazing merrily to the glory of the greats, and kept replenished by the small but intrepid band of scholars of neoscholasticism. Can it be that the Great Books have achieved one more accolade, a just fellow for *Socrates Crosses the Delaware*, and the literary brilliance of the 1943-1944 catalogue of the College?

Yes, it is springtime at St. John's, and the cheerful halls and seminar rooms ring with the unfettered laughter of earnest young fledglings over the wit, or is it humor, of Rabelais. One can even excuse a sporadic titter from a recently arrived freshman, when a tutor in the solemnity of the Great Hall accidentally lets fall a modern phrase in his explanation of the logos. The hard work of the winter months is at an end; now is the moment for the lighter moods of Descartes and Spinoza. Yea, verily, spring has come to the banks of the Severn.

The catalogue of the College states "that the real original and

ultimate teachers at St. John's are the authors of some hundred of the greatest books of European and American thought." Even though a professor (pardon, tutor) be encumbered with degrees from Goettingen, Ghent, Paris, or Balliol College, Oxford, who would be presumptuous enough to be otherwise than silent in the presence of the masters? Though one has risen to the heights of Professor Titularius or Extraordinarius, one recognizes his limitations when gently opening the tombs of the philosophic and scientific greats. Well enough for the neophytes to burn midnight oil in their cells as they laboriously peer through special bifocals at the printed word of Plato and Aristarchus, English translation, striving to ready themselves for the exquisite pain of the next seminar. In the smoke-laden room on the morrow the tutor can relax gracefully in his chair, a symbol of considerable double meaning, and absorb culture from the young mouths, filled with Chesterfields and wisdom.

A contemporary English poet, unknown of course to the students because of his modernity, once wrote,

This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang, but a whimper.

Whispers are helpful in studying the Great Books. *The Epitome of Astronomy*, *The Critique of Pure Reason* (99 and 44/100 per cent), *The Analytical Theory of Heat*, or the *Novum Organum* can hardly be bruited about with gusto. Philosophic meditation, even with the assistance of the pipe, model of Fourier, demands a subdued tone for proper dialectical confusion. In the laboratory the study of conics, involving, as it does, intense concentration in the manipulation of scissors and sealing wax, can only be undertaken in a near vacuum. The wind in the trees whispers, "Q E D."

The goal, however, was not easily achieved. It was first necessary

to do much missionary work. The public had to be educated to the virtues of the Great Books. Crass materialism had so reared its ugly head throughout the length and breadth of our great land that the conventional college and university adamantly refused to harken to the thin sweet voice of One Hundred Per Cent Liberalartism, conservatively labeled Democracy, crying in the wilderness. Fascism and worse was riding in the seats of the intelligentsia, be they sitting in Sauk Center or Cambridge. The call went forth, and happily prophets were found. St. John's, nee King William's School, first public free school on the American continent, saw the light, or perhaps the handwriting on the wall. From the University of Virginia came two men imbued with the spirit of the centuries to undertake the gigantic task. By a series of properly timed maneuvers, the system of block electives and military training, and the subsequent period of open electives, in vogue in the college from 1886, were done away with forever, and the classics and the liberal arts were unpacked from universal mothballs and restored to their rightful heritage. Chicago, we are informed, listened, and withdrew. Mr. Adler, Mr. Van Doren, and others hastened to take up the cudgel. The noble experiment was given momentum by sufficient professors from the old universities of Europe. Students flocked in increasing numbers from the more progressive high schools of the hinterlands and freshwater colleges to cheerfully assume the unpopular garb of medievalism. The Great Books were dusted and edited; sports were confined to simon-pure intramurals, the laboratory was returned to basic principles; the tutorial, seminar system was given a new lease on life with a weekly formal lecture thrown in by visiting converts and members of the faculty. It now only remains for the logos to penetrate the still rebellious minds of the rest of American education. However, St. John's hopes that with the aid of the radio, a new 1945 catalogue, and the walking Aristotle all will end in a happy refrain.

Of course, the college concedes something. One misfortune is the

weakness of students to write the usual college-level English, at least in keeping with the style of the great works studied. Deplorable as this undoubtedly is, the fact should not be unduly emphasized because of the greater benefits arising from a facility to discuss the Great Books, superficially as it may sound, rather than to be concerned with the tedious formality of English Composition 1. Unhampered discussion is the keynote of the curriculum, and, if the same happens on occasion to carry itself away on tangents, this merely illustrates the fact that tangents are basic parts of the mathematics of the ages, a fact clearly demonstrated in that the student at the college takes 389 clock hours of the subject in his sojourn.

Another weakness is the paucity of social life. St. John's cannot be too severely criticized here, however, since any girl would be more impressed with the blue uniforms and golden insignia of the midshipmen than with communing with the gods and greater mortals. Six sailboats are being installed to alleviate the situation.

But these and other annoying affairs are more than compensated for by the heralded curriculum and the zealousness of the student body. Although it might seem an impossible task to the outsider to read one hundred great masterpieces in the time specified, much less the 389 clock hours of mathematics and the 489 clock hours of laboratory work, the student at St. John's experiences no difficulty. Remember that these students are not the disillusioned graduates of the conventional college, or specialists in the more prosaic branches of learning, but are young, immature men deeply intoxicated with a zeal for the liberal arts; for the symbolic intricacies of the trivium and the quadrivium. Shame on you institutions of higher learning who waste your students' time in concrete laboratory experiments, in dallying with a few works in the original tongue, in daring to call the modern scientist and author a capable fellow!

Are *your* students capable of finishing trigonometry in nineteen hours, can they see what Euclid and Ptolemy are trying to accom-

plish, or are they merely interested in measuring ponds and flying planes? Angels dancing on needle points are more substantial fare than the conditioning of dog's saliva and the absurd adjustments to modern living. Next week Descartes, or was it *East Lynne*?

It is Good Friday night. Every Good Friday night a lecturer addresses the entire student body on grammar—universal grammar. Although Mr. Christopher Morley is the rival lecturer that evening at the Naval Academy, Mr. Morley is too modern to be able to compete with the St. John's lecture. Let us enter the hushed atmosphere of the Great Hall and turn back the clock a few centuries.

At St. John's the lecturer enters in the grand manner. The students rise as one to greet him. Notebooks are conspicuous by their absence, since everybody knows note taking is the prime evil of American education. After an appropriate period the lecturer begins his thesis, and the receptive audience drinks in the smooth hexameters much as the ancient students listened in rapture to the masters in the market places. To the uninitiated the symbolism employed (cf., the Greek verb carefully) is somewhat confusing, but the students are on safe ground. Phonetics, syntax, and vocabulary merge triumphantly into sentences; even though somebody didn't say it, the lecturer is sure he didn't know what he said, if he did say it. Time has no meaning in such a timeless subject, and when the formal lecture is done, the entire student body leaps enthusiastically to collective feet and the rafters ring with the applause. We trust we can be in the vicinity next Good Friday night, since we are resolved to get hold of a good universal grammar at all costs.

The seminars at the college are held twice a week in the evenings from eight to ten. Four seminars are held simultaneously, one for each year of study. The young minds are better able to grasp the philosophic discussions at those hours, and, besides, the days are too full of other duties. It is a friendly, do-as-you-will atmosphere that prevails. Be sure to bring your pipe or package of cigarettes, for smoking helps to loosen the tongue. We did not notice any

mead, or even a bottle of rare old bourbon, but one can't have everything, and the tuition of \$1,000 per annum would scarcely allow such luxuries, helpful though they might be. The reputed tea and crackers of Sarah Lawrence are likewise absent, since such, we are sure, are below the dignity of the Great Books.

The subject matter is Vergil, and the twelve books of the *Aeneid* are to be given the finishing touch, since three whole weeks have been already allotted to the work. The game begins by placing the word "fate" in play, a word much in favor with the author. A student unfortunately fumbles the kick-off and then another falls on the ball with such force it explodes, necessitating a new ball. But no matter. By a series of tricky laterals and end sweeps the logos moves up and down the field in such a bewildering series of formations that the spectator is left gasping with amazement. Should one tempt his fate; were the gods really good fellows; was Aeneas actually "pius"; if Dante was a sarcastic chap, is Vergil; will Dr. Kildare win his heart's desire? Better tune in next time and find out for certain. We who are philosophers are not concerned with such things as Vergil; to Avernum with his style, literary ability, and meaning; we are philosophers.

St. John's, we who are about to die salute you. On your pleasant campus the liberal arts alone flourish; there the gifted student with two years of high-school education may delve delightedly into the one hundred Great Books from Homer to Veblen and Young, chronological order; there Aristophanes may once again listen to the croaking of his frogs; Archimedes may relax in his bathtub, content in that his work has not been in vain; even Homer may nod unmolested. "O Di Immortales," we cry, "Requiescat in pace."

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THE RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS IN EDUCATION

Constance Warren

That the present crisis should challenge us to re-examine the effectiveness of education is only natural, for education must bear a heavy burden of responsibility for the present crisis. There is general agreement that education has not succeeded in developing a culture which gives us spiritual or intellectual power commensurate with the power which we now possess over the physical world. There is a certain amount of truth in President Hutchins's charge that colleges and universities have acceded too often to the demands of materialists that education be along purely "practical" lines, but more serious, to my way of thinking, is the evidence that so much of college teaching has become routinized and stereotyped to the point where it does little to bring about genuine education. Some years ago the report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, commonly called the Pennsylvania Study, pointed this out with pitiless frankness. It insisted that education to be effective must be based on two principles, the variability of human beings and the responsibility which each must take for his own education.

It is upon this basis that the small group of so-called progressive colleges is operating. These are Antioch, Bard, Bennington, Black Mountain, and Sarah Lawrence, all founded or reorganized within the last twenty-five years. Of late, a group of educators led by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and using St. John's College in Annapolis as a demonstration center, although agreeing that there was great need for educational reform, have taken sharp issue with these colleges about the direction which the reorganization of education should take. Because both of these types of education represent innovation, they are often carelessly grouped together as progressive, but they are as far apart as the poles in educational philosophy.

The progressive colleges have worked out their philosophy of

education on the basis of a careful study of modern educational and psychological research in an effort to find out how colleges can help young people to become as thoroughly adult as possible. The St. John's group brushes aside all scientific research on the subject as irrelevant and asserts with unabashed pedantry that our salvation lies in a return to medieval methods of education patterned on the literary training of the trivium and the mathematical training of the quadrivium.

Both groups agree that the mere amassing of knowledge, which seems to be the objective of so many colleges, is not enough. Wisdom and understanding must be distilled from knowledge if it is to profit the student, but on how to obtain that wisdom the two groups differ radically. The St. John's group has a simple answer—too simple. It thinks that young people will become wise just by studying what wise men in the past have said or by receiving training in the logical processes of logical thinking. This is based on Aristotle's dictum that man is a rational animal. Both President Hutchins and President Barr of St. John's College keep repeating that the difference between man and the animals is that man has the element of reason and that it is this element of reason that we must educate. This is not only psychological nonsense, it is logical nonsense. Man is man because he is a whole constellation, his intelligence affecting and being affected by everything in his make-up. If we are worth our salt as teachers we have got to find ways of helping students to understand not only facts but the drives and motives and desires of people that interfere with as well as stimulate their thinking and that, together with the power of reason, determine what they do. This may sound like education gone Freudian but it is not. It is education which for the first time is aware of and taking account of all the factors in the situation. It is no less concerned with training the intellect than is the staunchest classicist, but it is aware that that is not enough. Progressive colleges try to give this rounded training but they are free to confess that they have not yet learned all

the best ways of doing it. The St. John's people want students to learn to control their emotions so that they will serve the intellect, but to control emotions without understanding them is futile, often dangerous. To attempt to educate the intellect in isolation from the emotions is, as Whitehead points out, "one of the most fatal, erroneous and dangerous conceptions ever introduced into the theory of education."¹

The St. John's thesis that all other aspects of human development follow from rational training alone leads logically to a second assertion that there is one best road to learning, identical for all students, and that the only coherence important in education is logical coherence. These limitations tend to make it an authoritarian and therefore stultifying form of education. Progressive colleges protest against the usual program by which colleges require certain courses during the first two years as essential for the educated man. These colleges never could agree on what these essentials were but each was insistent and authoritative about its own educational prescription. Then came St. John's with a pattern vastly more authoritarian which prescribed in detail every intellectual experience the student—all students—must have for four years, with no regard whatever for individual differences. Its faculty members consider that young people have no character, no personality, no life history which needs to be taken into account when they come to college. Each is a *tabula rasa*. Their desires and choices are "a matter of chance and ignorance." Faculty members who have no interest or belief in the importance of the differences among students may easily indoctrinate but they cannot teach if by teaching we mean helping each student to develop to his best total capacities. Respect for individuals and the possibility of their varying contribution to society is basic to our democratic way of life.

The progressive colleges are alike in regarding their students as

¹A. N. Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929) p. 9

individuals and in attempting to understand each in terms of his intellectual, emotional, and physical qualities as well as in terms of his environment. They respect him as a person. They hope not simply to educate him for freedom, which may imply license, but to help him to develop his potential powers in terms of the greatest maturity of which he is capable. The satisfactory evolution of our society depends upon well-adjusted, mature, and intelligent citizens to direct it and also on practical training in the understanding of its needs and the ways by which they may best be met.

In order to make the plan for identical training for all students seem more reasonable, the St. John's group is under compulsion to show that the only alternative to the complete prescription which they advocate is the free elective system which they assert leads to chaos. To say that this is the only alternative is incorrect. The progressive colleges give the student the right to choose his studies but in view of his inexperience this is done in consultation with faculty members who help him plan his courses constructively in terms of his best development. St. John's is equally critical of independent work undertaken by students. They insist that this involves a private tutor for each student and therefore is an impossibly expensive and exclusive type of education. Again a *reductio ad absurdum*! The progressive college offers group work for all who select a subject, with opportunities for each to assume responsibility for independent excursions in directions important to him, an arrangement which admits of a reasonable ratio between faculty and students. Under this plan the student is encouraged to assume responsibility throughout his college career for his own education, an experience which he may never enjoy under the St. John's plan and which is basic in training for responsible democratic living.

The St. John's group insists that one hundred classics, more or less, selected by their faculty and presented in a fixed order during the four college years, constitute the best possible education for all students and are in themselves great teachers. The instructors act

as interpreters only, and they are expected to be able to turn with equal facility from the exposition of Plato's *Dialogues* to Newton's *Principia Mathematica* to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Not only is this list of classics overweighted in favor of ancient and medieval writers but there are almost no books on it by Americans, none on Oriental culture. Art is not included. Anthropology, which is profoundly changing our understanding of human nature, is entirely omitted. Contemporary problems of politics, government, economics, and sociology receive little attention although some of them are, I understand, touched upon in lectures. It is very natural that in these times of harrowing perplexity men should attempt to narrow and therefore simplify the field of education and look to authority for guidance, but this can be very dangerous. Our job is to teach young people to face present issues squarely, make every effort to understand them, and work out solutions in the light of all the factors involved.

Specialists in various fields agree that while many of these one hundred Great Books are suitable for college students when presented by able faculty, not when left to teach themselves, many others are so technical as to be fit only for graduate students. Others are so remote in content from the experience of most students as to be of value only to a few and then when handled by expert teachers. Some epoch-making scientific books on the St. John's list describe discoveries made by methods so tortuous in the light of our modern knowledge as to make the retracing of the original steps unnecessarily confusing and time-consuming. To say that the one hundred classics are all suitable for all students, especially if the college entrance age is fifteen and the mental aptitude of the students is "run of the mill" as St. John's advocates, is nonsense. It is equally ridiculous to claim that these classics teach themselves.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of the list of classics given is that so many of them were written at a time when our thinking was the outgrowth of a philosophic outlook uninfluenced by the

scientific method. As John Dewey has so ably pointed out,² the medieval and early modern writers had lost the scientific approach of the Greeks and, under the influence of the church, were relying upon authority. Our industrial age is based largely on the scientific method of firsthand observation and interpretation of physical phenomena. It is our job to extend these techniques of firsthand observation and interpretation whenever they can be applied to areas of human relations.

To make the classics the basis of education is certainly no new experiment. It was the standard program until comparatively recently. It formed the academic training of our founding fathers but it was supplemented in a very important way by the education which they obtained through a wide variety of work experience characteristic of a frontier community. This combination of educational experience outside of school as well as inside must be given credit for the training of our early leaders, not just the fact that schooling was classical. The darker side of the picture was the limitation of the classical education in the case of many who were not in a position to supplement it with enough practical experience. Under such circumstances, it has too often bred ultraconservatism. The British universities, steeped in the classical tradition, were shockingly slow to see the implications of the Industrial Revolution and resisted bitterly the theory of evolution although mill hands to whom Darwin's followers presented it grasped its implications immediately. The classicists in both countries put up a stiff fight against the introduction of science into their universities.

The one hundred classics deal almost exclusively with a past sufficiently remote and with ideas sufficiently generalized as to seem very safe to business interests which are alarmed at the thought of too close an investigation of present-day problems. They are eager that our ways of living be based on tradition and authority. They want no firsthand investigation as a basis for new standards. That

² John Dewey, "Challenge to Liberal Thought," *Fortune*, August 1944.

is one group to which the reactionary trend in education may well make a strong appeal.

At St. John's, it is considered desirable that teachers trained in one field should handle the material in other fields in which they have had little or no training. This cannot fail, in time, to lower standards of scholarship. Progressive colleges consider it of the utmost importance that work in various fields should be related, but by scholars who have enough respect for other fields to call in experts from them to make these interrelations valid. It is easy to imagine that if this list of books were to be taught in many colleges by men trying to cover many fields, a series of handy manuals would soon be developed to help both teacher and student!

Its advocates claim that the St. John's plan makes education available to all at small cost and that it is the only effective education for all. To be sure, it is very cheap to administer. A library limited to one hundred classics, with a few books read in conjunction with them, a restricted schedule, interchangeable teachers, laboratories in which much of the equipment is made by the students, and no art studios presents a picture of educational economies which must seem tempting to many a harassed college executive struggling to balance his budget and may, at first glance, seem to bring a college education within the economic reach of many more young people than can afford it today. We are all looking to an immediate future in which higher education is available to every one who can profit by it, just as we are all looking to an immediate future in which medical care will be available for all, but we insist that proper health precautions always entail enough physicians to give adequate individual diagnoses. We also look forward to enough teachers to handle students in whatever ratio is essential for individual development. We surely do not expect a return in medicine to the days of universal "blood-letting" by leeches because that was once the cure for all diseases, applied at little cost. Education also can be too cheap.

By the St. John's plan, the mind is to be trained on this material

selected largely from the rather remote past in order to discover the eternal verities, principles which the student may in later life apply to any situation in which he finds himself. But we are not so sure of these verities as we once were. In our day we have seen many of the so-called eternal truths of philosophy, economics, human behavior, even of science, challenged and in many cases proved to be not so eternal! We must continue to re-examine them in the light of experience and of our ever-broadening knowledge. Nor is there much evidence that people can be trusted at some future date to pull from the pockets of their memories principles which they can apply successfully to difficult situations if they have had no training in the technique of putting them into practice. The progressive colleges are convinced of the necessity of learning through participation in and experience with living situations, through attempts to have the students put into practice at once what they have been learning, even if this is confusing and difficult in our complex civilization. As Whitehead so ably puts it:² "Whatever interest attaches to your subject matter must be evoked here and now; whatever powers you are strengthening in the pupil, must be exercised here and now; whatever possibilities of mental life your teaching should impart, must be exhibited here and now. That is the golden rule of education and a very difficult one to follow." It is very important to show students how men thought in the past, but it is not enough. The progressive colleges use the classics freely but they do not present for study only books which time has shown to be undying. They also place in the hands of their students second-rate and ephemeral literature when that has an important bearing on some contemporary problem. They exact of their students the discipline of accurate reading and rigorous thinking when using any kind of material which seems pertinent.

It is interesting that the advocates of the St. John's plan, which is based on a pattern designed originally to fit men for the priest-

²A. N. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 9

hood, should so scorn vocational education. Until comparatively recent times the object of higher education was mainly to prepare men for professions. It must continue to train men to earn their living because we cannot afford to have men working without understanding or vision. They must be educated to be intelligently aware of the theory behind the practice of their jobs, no matter what these may be, of the historical background and the social and economic implications of the ways in which they earn their livelihood. To bring together liberal and vocational training in an integrated whole is an important problem that the progressive colleges accept and are trying to work out. The St. John's plan places a wide gulf between the two.

The St. John's plan emphasizes the essential need to understand the symbols of language and of numbers. To this the progressive colleges heartily agree, but they deny that these are necessarily best learned through the medium of this list of classics. All educational doctrines which attach supreme importance to certain books or to certain subjects fail to show the crux of the matter which is the *way* in which material is taught—whether liberally or illiberally—not *what* is taught. Any book or subject, if it is taught liberally, must be taught in terms of its relevance to the particular student who is studying it. Liberal teaching avoids inert ideas, what Whitehead has called the chief evil of education, "the cramming of general statements which have no relation to individual, personal experience." Teaching must not only help the student to eradicate prejudices or particular formulas, it must help him to discover his own positive basis of life and train him in its application to real situations.

The St. John's plan claims to be education for freedom. As I have pointed out, it tries to educate the intellect in isolation from the emotions. No one is intelligently free unless he is emotionally adult. The harmonious development of freedom and discipline which makes for maturity must be the responsibility of the college. Free-

dom cannot be attained unless the student is respected as a person and allowed to exercise freedom by making choices and thus assuming responsibility for his own education and for his real self-discipline. Nor is he free unless he has been trained for social responsibility, not only by learning to think clearly but by applying the results of his knowledge and his thinking in living situations. We cannot look to an authoritarian education—which in the light of modern developments is a reactionary education—to make us adult and therefore really free. Democracy and freedom cannot be learned as dogma.

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THE ENDS OF EDUCATION

Sidney Hook

There is more agreement about the ends of education in contemporaneous discussion than about the way in which they are to be derived. And there is more agreement about the phrasing of the ends of education than about their concrete meaning in any specific cultural context. Analysis will show that conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the ends of education are significantly associated with the different ways in which these ends are derived.

It is not difficult to draw up a list of educational ends to which most educators, who are not open apologists for a political or religious church, will subscribe independently of their philosophical allegiance. (1) Education should aim to develop the powers of critical independent thought. (2) It should attempt to induce sensitiveness of perception, receptiveness to new ideas, imaginative sympathy. (3) It should produce an awareness of the main streams of our cultural, literary, and scientific traditions. (4) It should make available important bodies of knowledge concerning nature, society, our selves, our country and its history. (5) It should strive to cultivate an intelligent loyalty to the democratic community. (6) At some level it should equip young men and women with the skills, techniques, and specialized knowledge which, together with the virtues and aptitudes already mentioned, will make it possible for them to do some productive work related to their capacities and interests.

Why, then, should controversy be so rife? After all, if these ends of education are granted, it should not be an insuperable task to determine which specific course of study in a determinate time and place will best realize them. Yet despite the enormous amount of experimental data compiled by educational psychologists, the conflict of schools and philosophies continues unabated.

The situation is not unique in education. In the realm of morals,

too, we can observe precisely the same thing. Every one believes, or says they believe, in truth, justice, loyalty, honor, dignity. Yet the strife of moral systems and the diversity of moral judgments in concrete situations, where the same formal values are invoked, is even more conspicuous than in education. In part, the same reason accounts for differences in both moral and educational judgments. Values or goods in morals are plural, just as ends in education are plural. They conflict not only with the values, goods, and ends that are rejected but to some extent with themselves. Two parties to a dispute may both profess allegiance to the ideals of justice *and* happiness or to the goods of security *and* adventure. But they may evaluate them differently, and assign them different weights when faced by the necessity of choice. Similarly, although different schools of education subscribe to critical intelligence *and* imaginative sympathy, natural piety for one's traditions *and* independent exploration of new modes of thought, they may be worlds apart in their practical judgments because they accent differently the values they hold in common. They can reach a consensus only in so far as they both submit to a common method of resolving conflicts in value. But it is at the point of method, *i.e.*, the process by which ideals are validated or derived, that they fundamentally divide.

There is another basic reason why the profession of common ends in a common situation is no assurance of agreement. The same words may actually mean different things to those who use them. Any one who has read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* will find that he invokes many of the ideals of his democratic opponents—justice, loyalty, honor, and dignity. In one passage he asserts that "the importance of the person" is the distinguishing characteristic of the Nazi philosophy of life. The terms "reason," "freedom," "order," and "discipline" appear in the writings of Thomists, absolute idealists, and experiment-naturalists, but they do not mean the same thing by them. Were one to judge educators only by their language in

discussing educational goals, there would be little ground for suspecting the presence of profound differences among them.

How then do we know when those who employ the same terms have a common referent or meaning? Roughly, only when these words are conjoined with a common behavior, or a program of action involving such behavior, in a specific historical situation. Indeed, we sometimes come to the conclusion that despite the use of different words people mean the same thing because the behavior and programs to which the words lead are virtually identical. No understanding between human beings is possible without symbols; and the symbols do not have to be verbal. Although it would be extremely difficult, in principle it would not be impossible for human beings to understand each other, on a rather primitive level to be sure, if they could not employ words. But without reference to some kind of bodily behavior, actual or prospective, remembered or imagined, no matter how long we spoke with one another there would be no assurance of mutual understanding. Even gods and angels have to intrude into the natural order to communicate with men.

The most general aims of institutional education at any time are identical with the most general aims of moral (or immoral) action at the same time. When we disapprove of the aims of an educational system, and state what they *should* be, we are also indicating, to the extent that they are educationally relevant, what the aims of the good life should be. How then do we determine what the aims of education or the good life should be?

There are two generic ways of reaching what are sometimes called "the ultimate" ends of education. One relies on an immediate, self-certifying *intuition* of the nature of man; the other on the observation of the *consequences* of different proposals of treating man. The first is essentially theological and metaphysical; the second is experimental and scientific.

When they are intelligently formulated both approaches recognize that the ends of education are relevant to the nature of man. But a world of difference separates their conception of the nature of man. The religious or metaphysical approach seeks to deduce what men *should be* from what they *are*. And what they are can only be grasped by an intuition of their absolute "essential" nature. Whatever the differences between Aristotle, Aquinas, and Rousseau on other points—and they are vast—all assert that from the true nature of man the true nature of education follows logically. The scientific approach, on the other hand, is interested in discovering what the nature of man is, not in terms of an absolute essence, *but in terms of a developing career in time and in relation to other things*. It recognizes man's nature not as a premise from which to deduce the aims of education, but as a set of *conditions* which limit the range of possible educational aims in order to select the best or most desirable from among those for which man's nature provides a ground.

What aspects of man's nature are relevant to the formulation of valid educational ideals? At least three distinguishing, but not separable, aspects of human behavior. First, man as a physical organism is subject to definite laws of growth. Certain powers and capacities mature, flourish, and decline according to a definite cycle. Second, man as a member of society, is heir to a cultural heritage and social organization that determine the forms in which his biological impulses and needs find expression. Third, man as a personality or character exhibits a pattern of behavior, rooted in biological variation and influenced by a frame of social reference, which develops through a series of successive choices

What ends of education should be stressed in the light of a survey of this threefold aspect of man's powers, and why? We say ends, rather than end, because an education that is relevant to at least these three aspects of human nature will have plural, even if related, ends.

In relation to the development of the human organism, physical and mental, education takes as its end *growth*. The maturation of body and mind is natural but so is its stunting. In selecting growth as an end, we are not *deducing* what should be from what is but selecting the preferred consequences of one mode of action rather than another. Growth, as every one knows, has been emphasized by John Dewey as one of the central aims of education. But, as soon as one speaks of growth, critics who approach this end in isolation from others are sure to inquire: growth in what direction? There is criminal growth, fascist growth, cancerous growth. From the fact that a thing is, it doesn't follow that it must or should grow. From the fact that it should grow, we do not yet know what direction the potentialities of growth should be encouraged to take.

The answer to this question has been implicit in Dewey's philosophy all along because for him the end of personal growth has always been allied with the social end of democracy. There are occasions, however, in which he states very explicitly what kind of growth education should strive to achieve. "It is true that the aim of education is development of individuals to the utmost of their potentialities. But this statement in isolation leaves unanswered the question as to what is the measure of the development. A society of free individuals in which all, through their own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others, is the only environment in which any individual can really grow normally to his *full* stature."¹

Education, then, for a democratic society goes hand in hand with education for growth. But why continuous growth even if democracy is accepted as a social goal? There are at least two justifications for growth. One flows from the nature of the democratic ideal which is incompatible with fixed social divisions. It cannot function properly where individuals are trained independently of their maturing powers and possibilities of development. The second is that

¹*The New Era*, November 1934

a world in which growth is encouraged is more likely to make for enrichment of experience than a world where individuals remain at the same level they have reached at the close of their schooling, learning nothing new even if they forget nothing old.

We have already seen that every choice we make in selecting and fortifying certain tendencies among the plurality of potentialities in the individual must be undertaken from the standpoint of some social philosophy, or some ideal of social organization. But what are the grounds for our choice of the democratic social philosophy? Here, too, the test of consequences is decisive and not a metaphysical "demonstration" or religious "intuition."²

On the level of character and personality, the aim of education is the development of intelligence. Here we reach the key value in the sense that it is both an end and the means of testing the validity of all other ends, moral, social, and educational. How is it to be justified? Why should we educate for intelligence? Again our answer is not because of the antecedent nature of man, but because of the *consequences* of intelligence in use. These consequences are many and desirable. Intelligence enables us to break the blind routines of habit when confronted by new difficulties, to discover alternatives when uninformed impulse would thrust us into action, to foresee what cannot be avoided and to control what can. Intelligence helps us to discern the means by which to enstate possibilities, to reckon costs before they are brought home, to order our community, our household, and our own moral economy. All this and more, in addition to the joy of understanding.

Whether man is intelligent, and how intelligent, are empirical questions, on which considerable evidence has accumulated. One might, of course, ask: What must the nature of man be in order for him to become intelligent? And if any one can derive from the

²I have attempted to present the empirical case for democracy in my "Philosophical Pre-suppositions of Democracy" in *Ethics*, April 1942. For reasons of space this reference must suffice.

answer more illumination than he had before, we can reply: Man must potentially have the nature of a rational creature in order to *become* intelligent. How little this tells us is apparent when we reflect that it is almost tautological to assert that a thing possesses potentially the qualities and relations it actually exhibits. Potentialities may not all be realized but everything realized is a potentiality. Men are and may become unintelligent, too. Unintelligence (or stupidity) is therefore also an antecedent potentiality. But since potentially man is both intelligent *and* unintelligent, what we select as the trait to encourage depends not merely on its potentiality but rather on its desirability. And desirability is an affair of fruits not of origins.

So far we have been attempting to justify the ends of education by their consequences. But there is another approach to the ends of education. This declares that we are dealing with a metaphysical question, which requires an answer based on the true metaphysics. Its chief exponents are Robert M. Hutchins, M. Maritain, and Monsignor Sheen. They hold to the belief that the appropriate end of education can be *deduced* from the true nature of man. The true nature of man is that which differentiates him from animals, on the one hand, and angels, on the other. It is expressed in the proposition: "Man is a rational animal." From which it is inferred that the end of human education should be the cultivation of reason.

I shall not stop to analyze the notion of reason and indicate how it differs from intelligence. What I want to point out is the fallacy in the presumed deduction of the ends of education from what uniquely differentiates man from other animals.

First of all, if what we have previously said is true, from what man *is* we can at best reach propositions only about what human education is, not what it *should* be. What man should be is undoubtedly related to what he is, for no man should be what he cannot be. Yet a proposition about what he is no more uniquely entails what he should be than the recognition of the nature of an egg necessitates

our believing that an egg should become a chicken rather than an egg sandwich. A further assumption of the argument is the Aristotelian doctrine that the good of anything is the performance of its specific virtue or the realization of its potentiality. The "good" egg is one that becomes a chicken, the "good" man is one who realizes his natural capacity to think. This overlooks the obvious fact that the capacities of a thing limit the range of its fulfillments but do not determine any specific fulfillment.*

Secondly, grant for the sake of the argument that animals other than man are incapable of any rationality. The question is an old and difficult one, handled satirically by Plutarch and experimentally by Kohler, both of whom disagree with the any dogmatism of the neo-Thomists. Nonetheless, rationality is not the only feature which uniquely differentiates man from other animals. Man can be, and has been, defined as a "tool-making animal." By the same reasoning the neo-Thomists use, we can "deduce" that man's proper education should be vocational! Man is also the only animal that can commit suicide. Does it follow that education should therefore be a preparation for death?

Thirdly, even if man is a rational animal, he is not only that. He has many other traits, some noble, others ignoble, or, to put it more accurately, he has traits that in some contexts can acquire the char-

*An identical fallacy underlies the argument of Mr. Mortimer Adler's "In Defence of the Philosophy of Education" in *Forty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1942, pp. 197-249. His argument depends upon two assertions: "each power [of man] is itself a natural being, albeit an accident of the substance possessing it, and because it is natural can only be perfected by one mode of development" And "In the case of every human power, other than the intellect itself, the natural tendency of the power is toward that actualization of itself which conforms to reason" (my italics). The first assertion begs the question by assuming that every power of man has only one natural end. And even granting this end, it does not follow that it can be perfected by only one mode of development. The second assertion confuses reason as a natural power of knowing, which is no more or less natural than eating or singing, with reason which expresses a social directive, and selectively modifies the natural exercise of human powers in the light of preferred consequences among possible alternate uses. What, when, and how a man should eat, what, when, and how he should sing depends not so much upon the power of eating or singing nor upon the power of the intellect but upon an ideal of fitness, appropriateness, goodness, or what not, that is not given with natural powers but brought to bear upon them by social, historical, and personal experience.

acter of nobility and, in others, ignobility. An education appropriate to man should take note of more than one of his traits and must take note of less than all. In either case some element of selection is involved.

What, after all, is meant by "the nature of man" whenever we speak of relating educational ends to it? The phrase masks a certain ambiguity that makes it difficult to tell whether its reference is empirical or metaphysical. A great deal of philosophical profundity consists in shifting back and forth between these two references and not being found out. When the neo-Thomists speak of *the* nature of man as the basis for educational ideals their concern is not primarily with biological, psychological, historical, and social features of human behavior. For since these terms designate specific processes of interaction between an organism and its environment, it would be risky to choose any set of traits as fixing forever *the* nature of human nature, and therefore *the* nature of education. But the neo-Thomists are concerned precisely with a conception of human nature which will permit the deduction that, in the words of Robert Hutchins, "education should everywhere be the same" Everywhere and at any time? Everywhere and at every time. In a weakened form, Mortimer Adler repeats this: "If man is a rational animal, constant in nature through history then there must be certain constant features in every sound educational program regardless of culture and epoch" And Mark Van Doren, who carries all of his teacher's ideas to recognizable absurdity, adds that because education and democracy have the same end—the making of men—they are one and the same. "So education is democracy and democracy is education." From man's nature we can apparently deduce not only that education should everywhere be the same, but the social system, too.

If education is determined by human nature, may not human nature change, and with it the nature of education? "We must insist," writes Hutchins, "that no matter how environments differ human

nature is, always has been, and always will be the same everywhere."

This is truly a remarkable assertion. Before we ask Mr. Hutchins on what evidence he knows this to be true, let us see what it implies. For one thing it implies that human nature is completely independent of changes in the world of physical nature with which the human organism is in constant interaction. Now, certainly Mr. Hutchins cannot know that the world of nature "is, always has been, and always will be the same everywhere." He therefore must believe that no transformation of the physical basis of human life can possibly affect human nature. His assertion further implies that man's nature is completely independent of changes in the human body, particularly the brain and nervous system. This calls into question the whole evolutionary approach to the origin and development of the human species. It implies finally that the habitation of man's nature in a human body is unaffected by changes in society and social nurture.

There is only one entity that satisfies all of these conditions. It is the supernatural soul as conceived by theologians of the Christian tradition. It is not the Aristotelian concept of the soul because, for Aristotle, the soul was the form of the body, all forms were incarnate in matter, and the nature of man was construed from his behavior. The constancy of human nature in Aristotle was predicated on the notion of the constancy of the natural order as well. Were he, in the light of modern science, to abandon the latter notion, he would have surrendered the belief in the constancy of human nature, since it was integrally related to the behavior of the body in nature and society. But Mr. Hutchins admits all the facts of physical, biological, and social development in man's environment yet insists that man's nature cannot change. It is only when we realize that he is not talking about empirical, historical, suffering man that the peculiarities and ambiguities of his language are understandable.

This is the secret behind the talk of man's true and constant nature. M. Maritain and Monsignor Sheen are more frank with us

than their epigoni at Chicago and St. John's. But all of them owe us a proof that the soul, as defined by them, exists. So far not a shred of valid evidence, experimental or rational, has been adduced to warrant belief in its existence. In fact, the achievements of genuine knowledge about human nature in medicine, biology, psychology, and history have been largely won by a bitter struggle against obstacles set in the path of scientific inquiry by believers in a supernatural soul.

When it is understood that by "human nature" Hutchins really means the human soul, whose study involves rational theology, and whose nature cannot be properly grasped without the deliverance of sacred theology and revealed religion, another article of his educational faith becomes clear. The true education of man must include the education of his soul by the one true theology.

Since the problem of education is for Hutchins a metaphysical problem, all the basic issues depend for their solution upon finding *the* true metaphysical answer. Consequently metaphysics occupies the chief place in the recommended curriculum as the *only* discipline that can impart to students a rational view of the world. "By way of metaphysics," he writes, "students on their part may recover a rational view of the universe and of their role in it. If you deny this proposition you take the responsibility of asserting that a rational view of the universe and one's place in it is no better than an irrational one or none at all."⁴

The philosophic presumption of this passage vies with its atrocious logic. To deny the proposition "by way of metaphysics students may recover a rational view of the universe" is certainly *not* to assert that "a rational view of the universe . . . is no better than an irrational one or none at all." The denial of the first proposition implies that students cannot get a rational view of the universe by way of metaphysics; it leaves open the possibility that they may get a rational

⁴R. M. Hutchins, *Education for Freedom* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), pp. 26-27.

view of the universe by the study of *other* disciplines, e.g., the sciences, social studies, literature, and history. It emphatically does not imply that a rational conception of the universe is worthless or worth no more than an irrational one. I pass over the additional confusion of identifying a rational conception of the world with the conception that men are rational and the world rationally ordered. A rational conception is one based on evidence and a conception of the world may be rational *if* the evidence points to the fact that men are irrational and the world chaotic.*

No matter whether we take "reason" or "freedom" or "order" or "discipline," analysis will show that differences in the method of deriving them express conflicting conceptions of the meaning of these terms. That is why the significance of an educational philosophy cannot be judged so much by the doctrinal catchwords and slogans with which it describes the ends of education as by the *method* it uses to reach them.

*The study of philosophy, including metaphysics, has, of course, an important place in the liberal-arts curriculum. It has many justifications—among them the achievement of a methodological sophistication that may immunize students against the confusion of definitions and resolutions, and of both of these with hypotheses, which constitutes so much of traditional and popular metaphysics.

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METAPHYSICS AND MR. HUTCHINS

Education for Freedom, by R. M. Hutchins. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1943, 108 pages.

Rudolf Kagey

This small book contains three lectures delivered at Louisiana State University and two essays. It gives a summary of what the President of Chicago has said at greater length elsewhere, and it should be a useful reference for any one who wishes a concise statement of Mr. Hutchins's premises.

Chief among these is the assertion that metaphysics must be the keystone of education, metaphysics being the study of "the nature of being and the nature of man" to the end that wisdom and goodness may be made the goal of living. Metaphysical discipline, the author points out, is not only desirable but not even the shallowest critic can escape it. In science, the very concepts of order and causality depend on a priori convictions, and in ethics and politics we can inquire into the meaning of ends and freedom only by clarifying for ourselves veritable first principles.

This is a sound and vital observation. That it is a relatively unpopular one—that many of us either openly scorn it or feel uncomfortable when we encounter it—is the symptom of a weakness of our age. Ever since the Renaissance, Western philosophy has become more and more deeply infected with a kind of split-personality complex, and no tradition illustrates this better than the Anglo-American.

The revolt against the Middle Ages came earliest in England, and the success of that revolt tinged English (and later American) thinking with something like arrogance. This arrogance takes two forms which appear to be antithetical but are actually different aspects of the same error. One of them is brightly illuminated by Thomas Hobbes's conviction that man's life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," and that only by artificial convention are we

able to form anything like a bearable society. Stripped to its essentials this is the view that by nature man is antisocial and society *unnatural*

The other form of our Anglo-American arrogance is as optimistic as the first is gloomy. It was expressed by Jefferson when he insisted that every citizen is capable of forming sound moral judgments by "the light of reason," and that accordingly moral and political excellence is automatically achieved by education in the *other* disciplines

The upshot of both of these views is the same: The wisdom by which man may hope to live a good life is made up of split parts which are irrelevant to each other. Cunning in the use of machines is the province of the sciences; definition and attainment of ends is the province of conscience—bad conscience for Hobbes, good conscience for Jefferson.

Thus both sides of this tradition work to obscure a fundamental truth: Knowledge and learning have worth only in so far as the *moral uses* of knowledge and learning are studied and applied within one unified system of human values. Call that unity metaphysics, if you like. The point is that man is at one and the same time—not separately—both a moral agent and a cunning manipulator of machines. The standards by which he lives will be determined by the wisdom he brings to bear on these inextricably tangled aspects of his self.

The one great problem of education is the problem of improving the standards by which men live. Is American education doing this? Mr. Hutchins says it is not, and he gives two sets of reasons for his answer.

The first set is philosophic. American education is infected with (1) skepticism, (2) presentism ("you tour the stockyards and the steel plants and understand the industrial system"), (3) scientism (the belief that the sciences can separately provide the *purposes* for which they should be used), and (4) anti-intellectualism which, in

the vein of Comte's distrust of religion, rejects all standards as absolutist.

At first the reasoning here is pointed and provocative, but very soon it begins to sheer away from the main thesis and take on the color of that special pleading which weakens much of what Mr. Hutchins has written since he went to Chicago. The reader comes to realize that metaphysics has been set up as a front for something else. What was novel and important a few pages earlier becomes as stale as the lament of a cracker-barrel critic yearning for the good old days. What was fresh and suggestive turns petulant and reactionary—and occasionally silly. "If we look at American democracy, we are struck by the fact that the infinite variety that was the chief characteristic of the democracies of Plato's day is missing from our own." The obscurity of this sentence, in its historical reference and in the light of Mr. Hutchins's own educational theories, is classic.

His second set of reasons for the failure of American education may be called administrative, and in their development Mr. Hutchins makes use of a logic that is sometimes puzzling. He begins by complaining that financial success has become the universal goal in our publican national life. For this he blames (1) Mr. Eliot and the elective system, (2) the multiplication of vocational courses in college, and (3) the eight-year elementary school which has been a "plain, everyday mistake."

The argument through this section of the book is gaited to a defense of the Chicago Plan by which the A.B. degree is conferred at the end of what is now the sophomore year. The high schools, Mr. Hutchins argues, have to a large extent "taken over the college curriculum," so Chicago is justified in shortening its program.

To any one in daily contact with the product of today's high schools, that reasoning is either funny or scandalous. In Mr. Hutchins's hands it is both. For the quality of moral and "metaphysical" *maturity* which Mr. Hutchins holds to be the prime aim of college education is precisely the quality which suffers most from the ac-

celeration and specializing which inevitably occur when a high school attempts to "take over the college curriculum."

The root of the trouble may lie, as Mr. Hutchins thinks, in the elementary school, but here again his logic is bewildering. The elementary school of today is not a success. Why? Because it fails to give a child the all-important tool of reading swiftly and critically? Because it does not begin the study of languages when they are most easily mastered? Because it does not inculcate metaphysical interests?

Not at all. "If we had listened to Thomas Jefferson instead of Horace Mann," says Mr. Hutchins, "we might have avoided this waste. . . . Jefferson proposed to send the American child into secondary school at ten."

The suspicion grows that Mr. Hutchins himself can on occasion confuse means with ends as skillfully as some of his opponents.

BOOK REVIEWS

Nusantara: A History of the East Indian Archipelago, by BERNARD H. M. VLEKKE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943, xv + 439 pages

Nusantara—empire of the islands—is a little known name for that area of the southwestern Pacific which politically is known as the Netherlands Indies and geographically as the East Indies, or Indonesia. The larger islands of the archipelago include Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and New Guinea. These are places very much in the news of the day and they will undoubtedly be the battlefields upon which will be fought the encounters that will spell the doom of Japan's dream of empire. These islands, too, because of their unique products, play an important role in the mart of world trade. Nusantara has had a long and varied history and an understanding of the same is necessary for those who would participate in the problems of the peace that is to follow the present struggle. The present scholarly and exhaustive volume presents the absorbing story of these islands from the earliest times to the fall of Bandung in March 1942. The book is the first complete history of the archipelago in English. The author, a native of the Netherlands, was formerly General Secretary to the Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome, a post which he left in 1940. Since then he has given volunteer courses in Netherlands history and languages at Harvard University. The historian, the political scientist, the economist, the military expert, and the general reader will find this authoritative text most helpful.

Dimensions of Society, by STUART CARTER DODD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, x + 944 pages.

The reader who notes the subtitle "A Quantitative Systematics for the Social Sciences" and the opening statement of a working hypothesis "that it is possible with our present knowledge to begin constructing a quantitative systematic science of sociology" (p. 3) is likely to believe that he will find procedures for collecting and treating data. If so, he will be disappointed. The intent of the author is "to present a theory, or system of classificatory concepts and notation" by which any social situation, simple or complex, may be analyzed and described—the S-theory.

The successful accomplishment of this purpose would be no mean

achievement, and might well signify a step in transition of sociology toward a true science. The sciences such as zoology and botany had their real beginnings only when a satisfactory system of classification had been devised.

The author has no assurance that the systematization he here presents will be immediately acceptable to the leaders in sociology, but is simply asking that it "be studied carefully to determine whether it deserves oblivion or memorizing for use" (p. 22). The book "is intended for the rising generation of social scientists who are demanding tools of increased objectivity and precision for dealing with the phenomena of society" (p. vi) and comprises a textbook for detailed study. It should be studied with an open mind by every student and leader of sociology, so that proper appraisal may be made.

The system itself is ingenious, simple, and clearly presented. It can be readily grasped by all who are acquainted with the elements of statistics. Only 32 symbols are used, half of which are basic and half auxiliary. Many of these are already known.

The author presents evidences for the S-theory, dealing with its parsimony, precision, clear classification, fruitfulness, reliability (97 per cent accuracy), geometry of the theory, ability to paraphrase current concepts, and external correspondence. He illustrates the application of the procedures with 326 societal situations selected from sociological literature and claims no true situation exists which cannot be thus analyzed.

Copious notes are appended to each chapter. Appendix III to the volume notes 42 research problems which are in need of immediate inquiry. These either relate directly to the S-theory or are suggested by it.

The weakness of the system appears to inhere in the I symbol which stands for all the characteristics of the population or environment. Any one could readily designate the other three basic indices, population, space, and time. The real point of issue in the classification of sociological and psychological data relates to the detailed classification of the I characteristics. Until this is done little real progress will have been made. Furthermore there is apparent no effort to fit the scheme into the demands of the field theory.

No single review or reviewer could or should attempt to evaluate such an apparently momentous volume. This must be done by the reader, and then only after careful testing by application to actual social situations. If found satisfactory there is no reason why it cannot be extended to psychology and other areas.

Christianity and the Family, by ERNEST R. GROVES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, 229 pages.

In this little volume of lectures, Professor Groves shares some of his rich experiences as a domestic-relations counselor with the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School students. As an insight into such problems the book is superb. It could well be used as a handbook for those who undertake such responsibilities. The author's understanding of the fundamental function of the family, both as it relates to religion and society, is sociologically sound and crystalline clear. His treatment of the routine problems faced by the counselor reveals his mastery of the field. From these points of view the book is highly recommended.

The only problem which this reviewer would raise is whether the minister is qualified to do this type of work. The minister, because of his peculiar relation to the domestic problems of his parishioners, cannot escape some work of this kind. Hence, any education for this task is better than none at all, and to that extent the book is a Godsend. It is only because several authorities have recommended that the minister become a sort of lay-psychiatrist that it seems pertinent to question the ability of self-anointed mental healers of this sort.

At present those who would assist people to become adjusted are legion. They include the profession of psychiatry, many psychologists, social workers, a few biologists, and even some sociologists. It is not, therefore, surprising that ministers should look upon domestic relations as their responsibility for there is a spiritual factor involved. One must realize, however, that some Protestant groups have no educational qualifications for the ministry, and others have only recently established such. The traditional training of most ministers has been anything but a preparation for such work. Is it to be supposed that the average minister is any more objective toward his culture than is the average parishioner? That there is a need for such services no one will deny. The question is whether the blind shall lead the blind.

Nova Scotia, Land of the Cooperators, by LEO R. WARD. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1942, 207 pages.

This book is written on the order of a roving reporter who goes from community to community in Nova Scotia to catch the spirit and thought of the "little men" who make up the cooperative movement's clientele.

Whatever one thinks of the cooperative movement, and the Christian ideals back of this particular cooperative experiment, the report is significant for the entire field of adult education. The reviewer thinks that one of the toughest problems confronting adult education is the development of a channel of communication between the expert and those with whom he works. This book makes plain what sort of communication patterns are necessary to reach the level of the "folk." It could be studied with profit by many who are now working in this rapidly expanding field of adult education.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly, September-May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1944.

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EDITORIAL

In 1940, Sterling North, book reviewer of the *Chicago Daily News*, made articulate the feelings of many parents, teachers, clergymen, and others about the growing absorption of America's children in comic books, when he wrote:

Virtually every child in America is reading color "comic" magazines—a poisonous mushroom growth of the last two years.

Ten million copies of these sex-horror serials are sold every month. One million dollars are taken from the pockets of America's children in exchange for graphic insanity.

Frankly we were not perturbed when we first heard about the rise of the action "comics." We imagined (as do most parents) that they were no worse than the "funnies" in the newspapers. But a careful examination of the 108 periodicals now on the stands shocked us into activity. At least 70 per cent of the total were of a nature no respectable newspaper would think of accepting.

Save for a scattering of more or less innocuous "gag" comics and some reprints of newspaper strips, we found that the bulk of these lurid publications depend for their appeal upon mayhem, murder, torture and abduction—often with a child as the victim. Superman heroics, voluptuous females in scanty attire, blazing machine guns, hooded "justice" and cheap political propaganda were to be found on almost every page.

The old dime novels in which an occasional redskin bit the dust were classic literature compared to the sadistic drivel pouring from the presses today.

Badly drawn, badly written and badly printed—a strain on young eyes

and young nervous systems—the effect of these pulp-paper nightmares is that of a violent stimulant. Their crude blacks and reds spoil the child's natural sense of color; their hypodermic injection of sex and murder make the child impatient with better, though quieter, stories. Unless we want a coming generation even more ferocious than the present one, parents and teachers throughout America must band together to break the "comic" magazine.

But, of course, the children must be furnished a good substitute. There is nothing dull about *Westward Ho!* or *Treasure Island*. Sinbad the Sailor didn't need spinach to effect his feats of strength. The classics are full of humor and adventure—plus good writing. And never before in the history of book publishing have there been so many fine new books for children, or better edited children's magazines.

The shame lies largely with the parents who don't know and don't care what their children are reading. It lies with unimaginative teachers who force stupid, dull twaddle down eager young throats, and, of course, it lies with the completely immoral publishers of the "comics"—guilty of a cultural slaughter of the innocents.

But the antidote to the "comic" magazine poison can be found in any library or good bookstore. The parent who does not acquire that antidote for his child is guilty of criminal negligence.

Sterling North's editorial, while an extreme indictment of the comics, was widely quoted. There were pulpits which thundered. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers took up the crusade. In one midwestern community there was a burning of the comic books.

Despite opposition, comic books and their readers multiplied. More than 20,000,000 copies are now sold monthly, to be read by more than 70,000,000 children and adults. In a recent national poll of opinion on the comics, 75 per cent of the adults questioned expressed the opinion that comic books are "good, clean fun."

It is time the amazing cultural phenomenon of the growth of the comics is subjected to dispassionate scrutiny. Somewhere between vituperation and complacency must be found a road to the understanding and use of this great new medium of communication and social influence. For the comics are here to stay.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

THE FIRST COMIC BOOK

Hayden Weller

The first modern comic book appeared in 1911 and was a collection of Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" newspaper strip. It was about eighteen inches wide and five or six inches high, bound in gray boards, and printed on good paper from the original zinc plates salvaged from the scrap pile of the old Chicago *American*.

Calvin Harris, then promotion manager of the *American*, persuaded the Ball Publishing Company of Boston to produce the book as a circulation builder for newspapers. The papers were to offer it to readers for a few cents a copy and six coupons clipped from succeeding issues of the paper. Other newspapers carrying the Fisher strip were slow to accept the idea and Harris was finally forced to place an advance order for 10,000 copies at 17½ cents each before the Ball Company would publish.

Harris, now a successful magazine writer, recalls that the 10,000 copies arrived at the *American* a week before the coupons were due to appear and were stacked in the hallway outside his office. On the same day Andrew Lawrence, cost-conscious managing director of the Hearst papers, also arrived in Chicago. When Lawrence learned the size of the order he went into the lurid act of the legendary newspaper efficiency expert and fired Harris.

The first week's sales reached 35,000 and netted the *American* a profit of more than \$6,000 in addition to the circulation. Harris was rehired at an increase in salary. The comic book was launched!

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THE COMICS — THERE THEY STAND!

Harvey Zorbaugh

When, in the late summer, the Office of War Information, on behalf of the Childrens Bureau and the Office of Education, launched its "National Go-to-School Drive," it turned to the press, the radio, motion pictures—and the comics! From the inside cover of some 150 comic magazines, of which 20,000,000 copies are sold each month, General Arnold and Commissioner McNutt urged upon American youth its patriotic duty to return to school. The comics—the daily and Sunday strips, and their offspring, the comic books—have emerged as an American institution, a major medium of communication and influence.

Statistics on the reading of comics, particularly on the reading of comic books, are staggering to those who believe, with President Hutchins of the University of Chicago, that there are only 100 books (none of them comics!) worth reading. Surveys by Gallup and others show the comics to be far and away America's favorite form of literature.

Comic strips—daily and Sunday—are read by well over half the nation's adults. Four out of five who buy newspapers read the comic page. It is a truism in the newspaper business that the comics, next to the news, sell the papers. When early in the Battle of the Atlantic German submarines cut our coastal shipping to a trickle, the *Bermuda Mid-Ocean* had its comic supplements flown in by plane, so important were they to its circulation. Among sizable papers, only *The New York Times* has been able to manage without a comic page. The daily strips are read by two thirds of all children over six. Sunday mornings forty million children pore over the colored comic supplements. The comic strips—daily and Sunday—have a public of between sixty and seventy million.

Heywood Broun called comic strips the proletarian novels of America. But this is misleading. Comic strips are read by all sorts of

people from the illiterate to the intelligentsia. True, intellectuals have had their pet strips, such as "Krazy Kat" and currently "Barnaby." But many of them adhere to strips as soundly in the tradition as Milton Caniff's "Terry and the Pirates," whose disciples range from a Bronx housewife who for the past four years has written Caniff a weekly letter of appreciation, through a motorman of the New York subways who has spoken well of its philosophical content, to John Steinbeck (author of *Grapes of Wrath* and *The Moon Is Down*) and Dr. Hu Shih (former Chinese Ambassador to the United States).

Barney Google's "Spark Plug" was known to more people than was Man o' War. Judge Albert H. Gary, late chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, once asked a reporter whether he thought "Spark Plug" would win the Derby. When the reporter's mouth dropped open, Judge Gary said, "Yesterday, at a directors' meeting, one of the men asked that question. I found every single one of our directors read the comics." On "Jiggs" and "Maggie's" twentieth anniversary, their creator, McManus, was showered with letters and telegrams—from Franklin Roosevelt, senators and representatives, governors, leaders in industry and the arts, and rulers of foreign nations.

The statistics on the reading of comic books are astounding, the more so when one recalls that the first comic magazine appeared only in 1933.¹ A recent survey, by the Market Research Company of America, on the reading of comic books throughout the country reveals that comic books have as large if not a larger public than have the comic pages of the newspapers, a public estimated at seventy million.

Of children 6 to 11, 95 per cent of boys and 91 per cent of girls read comic books regularly. Of adolescents 12 to 17, 87 per cent of boys and 81 per cent of girls are regular readers. Regular readers among adults number 41 per cent of men and 28 per cent of women

¹ The first comic book in their present format

between the ages of 18 and 30, 16 per cent of men and 12 per cent of women 31 and over (with another 13 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women occasional readers).

Paul W. Stewart and Associates, Inc., questioned the entire population of Hudson, New York, on their reading of comic books. They found that they were regularly read by 93 per cent of children between 8 and 15, by 72 per cent of boys and girls of the ages of 16 and 17, by 27 per cent of adults 18 to 34, and by 10 per cent of adults over 35. These figures conform closely to those for the country as a whole. Indeed, the National Market Research Company survey found only slight variations in the reading of comic books from one part of the country to another.

Comic-book readers, furthermore, like their comics in large doses. To be a regular reader means among boys and girls to read an average of 12 to 13 comic books a month, among young men and young women to read 7 to 8 a month, among older adults to read 6 a month.

Both newspaper comic pages and comic books are devoured in large quantities by the men in our armed forces. Strips by leading cartoonists are featured in the various regional editions of *Stars and Stripes*. The Army, with the help of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, has prepared a bulky compilation of comic strips in book form for shipment overseas. Strips by leading cartoonists are also found in more than 1,200 camp newspapers issued in military establishments in this country.

Abroad, our men clamor so loudly for comic books that the Navy recently gave precious shipping space to several bales of books for the boys on Midway. At post exchanges in this country comic books outsell *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, and *The Reader's Digest* combined by a ratio of 10 to 1. The Market Research Company survey revealed that of the men in training camps in this country 44 per cent read comic books regularly and another 13 per cent read them occasionally. U.S.O. hostesses report comic books leave their reading tables first, officers in training camps that they are passed from man to man until there is nothing left of them.

Some adults, fearing for a brave new world built by minds nurtured on the comics, have criticized the armed forces for encouraging the reading of comics, and for directives making space for strips in service papers while barring the columns of such home-front sages as Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler, and Samuel Grafton. The armed forces retort they are doing the democratic thing in providing, within space limitations, what the majority wants.

The Army's recently approved list of 189 periodicals which may be distributed to troops without scrutiny of political content, drawn up on the basis of preferences expressed by our soldiers in polls and surveys at home and abroad, includes nearly 50 comic books. *Life*, in its special issue of September 25, "A Letter to G.I.s," included a section reporting happenings in their favorite comic strips.

Comic books, like comic strips, are read by all the sorts of people who make up America—young and old, poor and rich, those who never got beyond the sixth grade and Ph D.'s, soldiers and civilians.

Those who have escaped addiction look upon the comics as the pabulum of the half-witted and emotionally infantile. There is no arguing this point of view—it is not an opinion but an allergy!

But certainly many celebrated adult addicts are men and women of intelligence and maturity. J. Edgar Hoover is one of "Dick Tracy's" most faithful admirers. Pablo Picasso once confessed to an admiration for the "Katzenjammer Kids." Josette Frank, who directed the survey of children's reading of comic books made by the Child Study Association of America, comments: "The comics appear to have an almost universal appeal to children . . . regardless of I.Q. or cultural background."

True, education and economic and occupational status somewhat influence the reading of comic books. But their influence is less than one might suppose. Twenty-seven per cent of adults who are high-school graduates, as against 25 per cent of those who attended only elementary school, regularly read comic books, though only 16 per cent of college graduates regularly include comic books in their

literary diet. As many proprietors and managers (35 per cent) as unskilled laborers (38 per cent) are regular readers—although only 17 per cent of housewives (many of whom may be too busy to read anything) and but 12 per cent of school teachers (who, one suspects, unless addicted to secret vices do not dare) are regular readers.

The size of the comics' public is equaled only by the avidity and absorption with which that public follows the adventures and misadventures of its favorite characters. When Milton Caniff, two years ago, staged the death of Raven Sherman in "Terry and the Pirates" 1,400 letters of sympathy poured in, a number accompanied by floral offerings.

A Pennsylvania paper, which did not subscribe to the strip, carried the story of "Raven's" death as a news item. Caniff was interviewed on the radio, so he could explain why "Raven" had to die. On the day "Raven" was buried in the hills north of Chungking, 450 students of Loyola University of Chicago paid tribute to her by gathering on their campus, facing east for a minute of silence.

When "Smiling Jack" was lost in the Pacific, Pan American Airways was urged by agitated fans to send out a rescue plane. When little "Annie Rooney" was pictured without gifts at Christmas, the papers which carried the strip were deluged with toys. When "Blondie" was expecting "Cookie," second child in the Bumpstead household, she asked for suggestions for a name; 400,000 letters poured in. When, several years ago, "Little Orphan Annie's" dog "Sandy" got lost, her creator Harold Gray received a telegram he at first thought was a hoax. It read: "Please do all you can to help 'Annie' find 'Sandy.' We are all interested. Henry Ford."

The Captain Marvel Club has 573,119 members. The intrepid captain receives more than 30,000 letters a year, from all parts of the United States, and from many foreign lands (recently from France, Italy, Egypt, and China). A Philadelphia boy wrote him a letter a day for over a year. The members of a college fraternity wrote him to correct his chemistry. A Captain Marvel puzzle contest, just

closed, drew 46,511 entries. The average age of the major prize winners was 30 (one of these fortunates had passed his seventieth birthday). Moppets wander into the offices of his publisher in the Paramount Building, hoping to meet him. A dress manufacturer, who took two lines at the end of a story to announce a Mary Marvel dress, was nearly ruined when, catching him wholly unprepared, 6,000 orders poured in!

Comic characters are among the widely known and influential personalities of the day. A number of them, "Captain Midnight," "Superman," "Hop Harrigan," "Dick Tracy," "Orphan Annie," and "Terry," for example, have achieved radio fame. Several, like "Popeye," have become stars in motion pictures. "Blondie" is featured in a daily strip, a Sunday color feature, a comic book, on the radio (by two networks—the Blue and Columbia), and in pictures. Numbers of radio and "movie" characters—the "Lone Ranger," "Red Ryder," "Donald Duck," and "Mickey Mouse" among them—have sought and achieved fame in the comics.

Their impact on our culture is seen at every hand. They have influenced our diet and health habits—the citizens of Crystal City, Texas, in the heart of the spinach country, raised a monument to "Popeye"; mothers petitioned E. C. Segar, his creator, to stop "Popeye's" opening cans of spinach with his teeth. "Buster Brown" set a fashion in boys' clothes.

Comic characters have taken part in our politics. "Little Orphan Annie" and "Daddy Warbucks" have been among the most vocal critics of the New Deal. *The Daily Worker's* ideological moppet, "Little Lefty," slugged it out with "Orphan Annie" over the rights of labor. The comic strip has gone to work for the P.A.C. A strip from "Terry and the Pirates" has been read into the Congressional Record.

Their idiom has left its mark on our language—in "heebie-jeebies" and "time's a-wastin'" ("Barney Google"), "goon" and "jeep" ("Popeye"), "let George do it" ("Jiggs"), "foo," "twerp," "boda-

cious," "discomboobrate," "banana oil," and many other words or phrases. Their characters and exploits have livened our speech with smile and metaphor—*Time* characterizes a cinema hero as "mowing down the enemy like 'Superman' at harvest home."

They have enriched our song ("Barney Google With the Goo-Goo-Googly Eyes"), our drama (they fathered the "movie" cartoon; "Sad Sack," the luckless hero of Sgt. Geo. Baker's comic strip has just stepped into the leading role in "Hi Yank"); our dance ("Krazy Kat" inspired a ballet); our art (Milton Caniff's drawings for *Male Call* were exhibited last spring at the Berkshire Museum, his drawings for "Terry and the Pirates" have hung in the Metropolitan; prominently displayed and much admired at New York's Milch Gallery's exhibition of paintings by contemporary American artists, this summer, was Jerry Farnsworth's "The Comics").

They have invaded campus and classroom. "Sadie Hawkins Day" is celebrated at 500 schools and colleges. In more than 2,500 classrooms children are learning to read from "Superman" workbooks. The comics are teaching French, Spanish, and the social studies. *Ivanhoe*, and other classics, over which our generation pored late into the night, are now reduced to comic form. The Chicago Museum of Natural History's "Joe the Elk" teaches paleontology and anthropology. "Private Pete" and his colleagues are playing a major role in the educational program of the armed forces. Even the Sunday school is not exempt. In some 2,000 Sunday schools children are studying "Picture Stories of the Bible."

The comic characters have played an active role in the war. On the home front they have sold bonds, promoted salvage drives, organized victory garden clubs, kept us alert to sabotage, combated intolerance and absenteeism, recruited blood donors, recruited men and women for industry and the armed forces, warned against over-optimism, argued the need of an international police force in the postwar world.

Several of the heroes of the comics have served as political agents

or in the psychological warfare service of the armed forces. Even before the war, Mussolini expelled "Flash Gordon" as an American propagandist (subsequently he banned from Italy all American comic characters save "Mickey Mouse," whom Mussolini himself could not get along without!). When, in 1940, "Superman" stepped overseas and destroyed the Westwall, the government of the Third Reich, in an abusive article in *Das Schwarze Korps*, branded "Superman" a Jew. (The Japs, able imitators, announced in April in a broadcast from Tokyo the formation of a Greater Asia Comic Strip Study Society, to bolster fighting spirit, spark "a large drive to bring the enemy, the United States and Great Britain, to their knees.")

Reactions to the amazing cultural phenomenon presented by the mushroom growth of the comics vary. The comic magazines, and the more violent adventure strips, have been bitterly assailed. Cooler heads, more objective, point out that the comics deal with age-old themes familiar in the folklore, mythology, fairy tales, puppet shows, and even the nursery rhymes of all peoples. That, like folklore, the comics are an outgrowth of the social unconscious, and the problems of the relationship of the individual to his social world find expression through them. Their hold on their readers, child and adult, reveals that their appeal is deeply rooted in our emotional nature. Like folklore and the fairy tale, they have cathartic meaning. Certain it is that the comics have emerged as a major institution of our American culture. They are here to stay. We are but beginning to feel their social impact. Their potentialities as a social force are tremendous. As with radio, it behooves us to understand the comics, evaluate them, learn to live with them, use them as a medium of communication.

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THE COMICS AS A SOCIAL FORCE

Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg

About the only thing that is unique in the emergence of the comics as a social phenomenon is the fact that they came upon us silently and grew to considerable dimensions before the "guardians of our culture" were aroused by them.

Every new medium of expression or of communication, like every scientific discovery or new invention, is likely to arouse opposition. And not alone from those who have a stake in keeping things as they always were. If we cannot find technical reasons to show that a new device will not work—as Simon Newcomb did to prove that heavier-than-air machines were impossible—we can make up good social and moral reasons

We ridiculed "canned" music. We speak today of the "legitimate" theater, but without remembering the deep emotional implications of the adjective. We rage at the radio as a broadcaster of everything that is "vulgar." And yet nothing has done so much to refine the general appreciations of musical and dramatic expression as the phonograph, the cinema, and the radio.

The history of the radio illustrates beautifully the almost universal reluctance to accept certain kinds of innovations. Sending signals across the ocean without a wire was exciting news; and the steady improvements of the instrument were faithfully reported by the newspapers. But for years the newspapers systematically ignored the established programs of broadcasting stations, and came only grudgingly to give them the space warranted by the public's growing interest. Today no newspaper would omit listings, reviews, and other information about radio.

I happened to be in Hollywood when the talking "movies" were just around the corner. A writer who had had some success with silent pictures was trying to convince me that the "talkies" would

never be important. "Can you imagine," he asked, "a photograph speaking to you?" That was impressive, but not convincing. I could not see that my lack of imagination would be a decisive factor.

We are likely to find each new form or technique of expression inadequate because it cannot do what earlier media have done. We disparage the screen play because it cannot do what living actors do behind the footlights; we postpone concern with radio plays while waiting for television to add what we miss in them. That is, we apply criteria of performance or effectiveness that turn out to be irrelevant; and we ignore what is distinctive and significant in the new medium.

Today various people discuss the comics as serious threats to the best in our civilization. Many intelligent and public-spirited men and women seem to feel it necessary to muster all forces to stop this "menace." But just what does this phenomenon mean—and what does all this excited hostility signify?

The most frequent criticism of the comics is directed at the crudeness of their drawings and drama, at the relatively immature level of their language, humor, sentiments. In short, the comics are deficient in subtlety, delicacy, sophistication. As art, many of the comics are crude. As literature, they are extremely elementary. They deal with ideas and sentiments in the simplest terms. Like their pictures, they are *flat*—they show chiefly right and wrong, blacks and whites, clear reds and greens for stop and go signals; they make little attempt at grays, to say nothing of subtler tones and tints. It is futile to dispute about taste, but we do need to recognize certain basic principles that seem to be relevant

Science Must Be Democratic

First, in our kind of civilization we can put the concrete outcomes of our science to practical use only through the techniques of mass production. But for economic reasons this involves mass distribution.

To attain mass distribution, comics or newspapers or machine products generally tend to address themselves to the smallest *common* denominator.

For the comics, as for motion pictures and the radio, this means an effort to supply entertainment. Without regard to his private motives, the producer has to reach the largest possible public. At how high or how low a level of intellectual, aesthetic, social, or emotional maturity the comics should be pitched, nobody can tell in advance. As in the competitions of a free market, we can say only that some offerings appeal to more people than others—whether it is books or plays or songs or fabrics.

Culture Diffuses Slowly

This brings us to the second consideration. In every kind of civilization it takes a lifetime to establish a set of new ideas or devices or practices. The comics started out as amusing toys, as motion pictures and the radio had done. They had no social responsibility and no ambition to become a social force; they merely reached out for the largest possible market. They improved in detail and gradually acquired some of those refinements that we demand of any cultural instrument through the very effort to establish themselves; they have been obliged to adjust themselves to criticisms and oppositions and competitions in order to make themselves acceptable and approved.

It took time for motion pictures and the radio to make the transition from the status of mere entertainment to that of a powerful social device capable of influencing the public. It was necessary that a whole generation, accepting a medium without prejudice, grow up with a thorough mastery of its distinctive devices and symbols and idiom. Motion pictures came of age when young men and women generally were thoroughly at home in the medium, and were able not alone to enjoy and "understand" their idiom but to criticize it and to use it. Now we have writers who can go beyond

imitating stage plays and actors who know the possibilities as well as the limitations of the screen play; and we have directors who control a multitude of effects quite foreign to the stage. And so with the maturing of radio. *The comics have to go through the same stages.* They have barely begun to show what is possible when writers and artists have learned to use the form for expressing their own ideas and sentiments, for transmitting their enthusiasm, their own likes and dislikes.

We Proceed from Where We Are

A third consideration is this, whether we are trying to sell gadgets or to advance civilization, the immediate question is: What can the public accept, understand, value? For the concern of the social critic or of the statesman is not how "vulgar" the taste to which our mass producers appeal or how awkward the effort, but how rapidly the public can move from wherever it happens to be at any moment to the highest reaches within its inherent capacities.

Teachers, bent upon diffusing culture and raising standards, sometimes manifested their disapproval of the comics by ostentatiously tearing up captured copies of the contraband which the children had hidden behind the geography books. They behaved like other cultivated persons who made no attempt to conceal their contempt even for children seen perusing the comics. But these attitudes and their manifestations did nothing to raise the level of understanding or taste or value among the children. They merely made the children feel that there was something wrong with them to merit such violent disapproval, or that the teachers were mean kill-joys. They obstructed the children's growth in discrimination, but of course not for all the children, nor in equal degrees for those whom they did influence.

Elsewhere in this symposium there are considered the development and magnitude of the comics as a form, as an industry, and as

a direct impact upon millions of our fellow citizens of various ages. There is also an analysis of the psychological factors which make this form so acceptable to a wide range of ages as well as of intellectual and cultural maturity. Those of us who somehow escaped that impact during the years in which the comics were becoming a social problem may be astonished at the relatively high intellectual and cultural levels of their patrons. This latter point was brought home to me through my own interest in the possible influence of the comics upon children; but I confess that I was not prepared when one of my sons told me that at the training camp for medical personnel most of the men regularly reached more eagerly for the new comics than for any other reading matter.

Toys Become Tools

It is the very qualities for which the comics have been condemned by critics that give them force and make them socially significant. For it is these qualities that enabled them to catch the attention and hold the interest of the children who form so large a part of their reading public; and it is these qualities that today make them more easily apprehended by people of all ages than political speeches or sermons or the most "popular" of newspapers or fiction.

But in so far as the comics do appeal to greater multitudes and in so far as they do penetrate the thoughts and sentiments of multitudes, and affect attitudes, they constitute a social force that goes beyond differences in "taste." For better or for worse, they are more potent than many of our other instruments for influencing people's understanding and attitudes. The instrument itself need no longer be judged as good or bad, whether in taste or in morals; *it is important because it is potent*. We have to judge only the uses to which it is put—like dynamite, or printing, or science itself.

The comics can serve the educator as well as the propagandist, the missionary as well as the advertiser. They have taken their place alongside newspapers and photography, motion pictures and the

radio. And, like these others, they have become an integral part of the progressive democratization of our culture.

How Comics Influence

For a century we have looked to the schools to develop a national unity in our heterogeneous population by inculcating children, as they grow up, with common concepts, doctrines, attitudes, sentiments. But the comics, claiming to be no more than toys, have been doing just that, reaching continuously more than the school, more than the newspapers. Many reject the tool, unable to see any good coming from its use. They point, for example, to the obscene or lascivious material that appears in some comics as an indication of the potentially "bad" influences of this medium, although they do not object to books in general or to painting in general merely because some books or some paintings contain morally or aesthetically objectionable features. Or they denounce the impossible performances of the fantastic heroes as symbols of "power" such as we fear in the fascists, or as excursions into the supernatural, although they accept and even praise men's efforts to express their dreams and wishes or to grasp what lies beyond, through folk art or sagas.

But what message does this strange new medium convey? Is there indeed any unity in it beyond the fact that it does appeal to so many? We can expect no more unity in the content of the comics than we have in the output of the printing press or of the radio. Some years ago there was some agitation because in one of the comics "Little Orphan Annie" had aligned herself against strikes. Every medium, perhaps even when it is used "only for entertainment," is likely to carry doctrinal or sectarian implications. We have to recognize that and we have to combat the offensive teachings as best we can, for of course we do not want a censored or controlled expression, whatever the medium.

The comics share with all the other media of communication a ready adaptability to all kinds of purposes, including that of express-

ing views and attitudes, preferences and prejudices. Artists and writers brought up on the comics have become increasingly aware of the potency of their medium and they have attempted increasingly to use their gifts and their skills with conscious purpose.

When the Army and Navy were developing their training programs they called in the makers of comics along with the makers of books and posters, animated cartoons and sound pictures, radio scripts and dramatics. This does not mean that all the various ways of reaching and influencing people are interchangeable. It means that some kind of teaching can be done more easily or more effectively with one instrument than with another, and that some people are more easily reached through one medium than through another. It means at any rate that more is needed in the training of soldiers than spoken orders and printed pages

Comics as Education

Along with all the other media for propaganda and publicity and promotion, the comics are selling war stamps, collecting salvage, enlisting volunteers for the various services and for essential war work, and furthering the war effort in other ways. But, in addition, the comics are now producing a considerable body of sincere and effective educational materials reaching in many different directions. Some of this is incidental to already established series in which the endless adventures of a hero constitute the central theme. Others are deliberately designed to convey a special message, more or less directly, or through more or less dramatic entertainment.

All-American Comics published "The Twain Shall Meet," on racial misunderstandings and prejudices among peoples. This was produced and published in "Comic Cavalcade" with the cooperation of the East and West Association, of which Pearl Buck is the president. The same company devoted "The Justice Society of America" in its All-Star Comics to a series it called "A Cure for the World." This is in the tradition of the miracle workers: "The

Hawkman," finding injustice and prejudices due to fear and misunderstanding through the ages, plays fast and loose with time and space; he arrives with his pals always a fraction of a second before it is too late to vindicate justice and to emphasize the lesson that justice means justice for all—all, regardless of race, color, or religion.

The long series of "Picture Stories from the Bible," published by M. C. Gaines, culminates in a "book of 232 pages in full color," presenting the entire Old Testament told chronologically, under an advisory council of distinguished educators and church leaders of various denominations.

True Comics, as the name implies, have made a feature of factual material, in contrast to fiction and fantasy. The titles suggest the pervading educational purpose—current events, history, social studies, science, our South American neighbors. On health topics there are "The Common Cold" and "The Fight Against Infantile Paralysis." War themes include Radar and "How the Radio Guides Planes." They have published also "Scape-Goats of History," based on Kenneth Gould's pamphlet "They Got the Blame," published by the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations. This deals with the superstitions through which people justified their cruelties and witch burning, and with persecution and terrorizing of minorities, making a plea for unity and brotherhood. Another comic by the same producer is entitled "There Are No Master Races," based on the Public Affairs pamphlet by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish.

The above examples show the use of the comics' technique for fairly clear educational or social purposes. Other experiments with the medium attempt to convey the social implications by using the familiar characters and adventure forms without starting special series obviously calculated to teach a lesson or point a moral. The Master Comics, for example, published by The Fawcett Publications, Inc., have cooperated with the Writers' War Board in developing many important ideas for popular information and educa-

tion. The hero joins the war workers and discovers the marvels of industrial production, he boosts morale, and he fights sabotage. He finds Negroes working alongside whites in fine comradeship.

The wonders of Radar are exploited through amazing adventures of "The International Policeman," who detects and punishes villains on a global scale, on the side of the Allies. Getting around so rapidly, he discovers the significance of greed, violence, and lust for power as making for fascism; and he makes a strong indictment of lynching without any preaching.

"Captain Marvel," under the same auspices, shows the youngsters that the court is the children's friend and that the police are there to help them, not to interfere with what they want to do. He organizes his followers into a club that converts potential criminals into good citizens by letting them experience the satisfactions and "inner rewards" of cooperation and service. He carries out an ambitious program that embraces the entire home front, from selling war stamps to combating Fifth Columnists and ordinary crooks and saboteurs. He finds frauds and racketeers and roughnecks, and he frustrates them in their evil purposes, or he recaptures them for the good life. And most of his adventures fit right in with our national purpose. "Captain Midnight," another hero in this family, elucidates the importance of inflation (to the satisfaction of the OWI), opposes Nazi propaganda, circumvents and fights home-grown fascists.

The Educational Department of the CIO has undertaken a series of "colored picture strips" and has issued its first comic, "With Victory." It has also cooperated with other groups in a very wide distribution of "Scape-Goats of History." Mr. Kermit Eby of the CIO writes: "We find that information presented in this form makes a more popular appeal than the same facts presented in pamphlet form, as is evidenced by the 1,000,000 distribution of a comic strip as compared to 125,000 distribution of our most popular pamphlet."

Without making a systematic canvass, it is apparent that random samples of commercial comics disclose many other series with educational possibilities. There is hardly a subject that does not lend itself to presentation through this medium. Some of the publishers who issue large numbers of comic magazines have felt a responsibility toward the millions of children and young people among their readers and have sought the active counsel and cooperation of educators and educational agencies.

In form, the comics combine pictures with words, but they obviously fall far short of the best that pictures can do and also far short of the best that words can do, and they are very much slower than the radio. However, the comics have come to be as quick as the printing press and somewhat quicker than the cinema, and for reasons peculiar to themselves they have become almost universally intelligible. As a medium of expression they are coming to be at least as free as the press and, for purely economic reasons, much more so than the cinema and the radio.

The comics deserve the serious consideration of statesmen and educators, politicians and publicists, psychologists and sociologists, for they reflect what millions are thinking about, what they want, what they fear, and how they feel about matters of social significance.

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WHAT'S IN THE COMICS?

Josette Frank

The affinity between children and comics is too obvious for debate. Wherever there are children you are likely to find comic books. And wherever there are comic books you will most certainly find children. The explanation of that affinity is, however, less apparent and has in recent years been a subject of high controversy. Yet we must find an explanation if we are to understand today's children and their reading.

Those of us who hope to guide children's tastes, and especially their reading interests, must certainly take note that here is a form of reading which children take without coaxing—nobody is urging the comics upon them. On the contrary, every inducement and every device, from forbidding to rationing to punishing, has been tried to deter them, without success. Children of all ages, of high and low I.Q., girls as well as boys, good readers and nonreaders, in good homes and poor ones—they *all* read the comics, and read them with an avidity and an absorption that passes understanding.

Any interest which so entices the whole juvenile population can hardly be ignored by adults charged with the education and welfare of children. It was to be expected, therefore, that parents, educators, and librarians should concern themselves about these comics. Believing that such passionate interest must derive from something deeper than mere perversity, they have raised important questions: What's in these comics? Wherein lies their fascination? What are the children finding here that is so deeply satisfying to them? How may this reading affect developing tastes, nervous systems, manners, and morals? And what of the children's reading habits? Will this kind of easy entertainment keep them from reading other books?

In an attempt to find answers to some of these questions, the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association of America undertook to examine and evaluate a sampling of current

comic magazines. This was no mean task, not only because of the staggering quantity and variety of these publications, but also because the technique of reading them is something which children seem to possess but adults have to acquire! Moreover, the Committee believed that its inquiry would be useful only if it were approached on two levels: It must achieve not only an adult's but also a child's-eye view of the comics.

About a hundred magazines were examined with the intention, first, of analyzing their contents and the nature of their appeal to children, and, second, of arriving at some criteria by which parents and others may evaluate the comics and reach a *modus vivendi* regarding the juvenile preoccupation with them.

It became apparent at once that not all comic books are alike. There are wide differences not only in their content, but also in their editorial standards regarding selection of material, style, art work, and printing. They contain some very good and some very bad writing, some really excellent and some execrable drawing, some fine and some poor color work, some legible and some very illegible lettering. It was impossible, therefore, to classify comic magazines as either "good" or "bad." Like other publications, each must be judged on its own merits, and criteria will have to be based upon the nature of the medium itself, which can and must have standards of its own.

The contents of these magazines were found to fall into certain general categories that proved to be surprisingly familiar. The committee classified their story content as: adventure, fantasy, animal stories, war, crime and detective, real stories and biography, jungle adventure, fun and humor, love interest, and retold classics (which include all of these). Any librarian will at once recognize here the categories that have always been prime favorites on the children's book shelves. The difference would seem to lie in degree and in form.

Highest among the children's favorite comics (as borne out also

by the circulation figures) are, of course, stories of adventure. As a matter of fact, adventure permeates most of the comics, no matter what their major theme. Along with adventure goes danger, and along with danger, suspense. This the children seem to take in their stride, safe in the assurance that all will end well. It always does in the comics. Most of the stories follow the fortunes of one consistent hero, such as "Batman" or "Don Winslow," month after month. Unlike the daily strips, the stories in the monthlies are usually completed in each episode and the suspense resolved, though there are some exceptions to this. Concerning these factors the report of the Children's Book Committee points out, however, that "we must differentiate between the threat of danger and the portrayal of horror or torture. While it is true that some children enjoy horror pictures and stories, we believe that there is a limit to their capacity to absorb such material safely. Since we do not really know how much is too much, we believe that cruelty and torture scenes should be omitted from books for children's reading." (The question whether comics create fears or other emotional disturbances is discussed elsewhere in this issue and hence is omitted here.)

Fantasy adventure occupies also a major place in the comics, revolving about such heroes as "Superman," "Flash Gordon," and "Mandrake the Magician." Here we find feats of superhuman prowess and speed, miracle men possessed of special powers, magicians, weird scientists with pseudoscientific inventions, and projections into other worlds or into the future. Again, this story content seems to parallel the traditional interests of children. Indeed, man has always made such fantasy stories for himself. The myths and legends of ancient Greece, the folk legends of America's Paul Bunyan and Pecos Bill, and the classic fairy tales themselves attest to the human need for escape and wish fulfillment. Stories which push back the boundaries of reality have long served civilized man for the release of feelings of aggression and frustration. Identifying with "Superman," one can overcome all obstacles, do battle for the

weak and against the wicked, triumph over one's enemies, and generally transcend the hampering restrictions of a hard world. Some such escape must surely be allowed us all, including children. An *excess* of this or any other "escape" reading suggests a need for deeper study, not of the reading, but of the child and his relationships to real experiences. It should be added that a certain sameness and stereotype in these hero stories seems to bother children less than it does adults.

Crime, G-Men, and police play a considerable role in comic magazines. Comic-book crimes are usually on a grandiose scale involving gangs and plots, sabotage and racketeering, with the inevitable pattern of the criminals brought to justice, the wicked punished, the good avenged. In the comics "Crime does not pay"—but it certainly intrigues young readers! Nor need this surprise us. Again I quote from the Committee's report: "Children have always been fascinated by tales of wrongdoing and evil. The avenging of wrongs and the punishment of evildoers is a child's own fantasy pattern and such themes run through much of their literature as well as their play. The modern setting of these stories, however, has given rise to a fear that they may 'give children ideas.' There is no competent evidence that reading about crime makes criminals. The motivation toward unsocial acts lies much deeper than any casual contact with ideas on a printed page."

Contrary to general belief, there is a considerable amount of humor in the comics, though not as much as their name implies, and not nearly enough. Immensely popular, especially among younger children, are animal cartoons such as Walt Disney's "Mickey Mouse" and "Donald Duck," wherein creatures of all kinds behave in very human ways and get themselves in and out of trouble in lively and likable fashion. Here the adventure is rough but not violent, the characters are considerably knocked about but nobody gets hurt. These are truly "funnies," yet their appeal lies not only in their humor, but in the very childlike quality of their

characters, which do all the venturesome things children would like to do but dare not.

Jokes and funny strips are also interspersed in many of the adventure books, and a few, like "Mutt and Jeff" and "Popeye," are entirely "funny books." Lampooning human frailties, the humor is always of the crude, slapstick variety which, whether we like it or not, children relish. We have to accept the fact that children find it funny when people are pushed or tripped or suddenly propelled somewhere. They readily discount the pain of falling down or raising lumps when one is hit on the head—lumps that seem to disappear in the very next picture! Such things, it seems, can happen in the comics. The fact that children do not laugh aloud at them is no index of their amusement.

Family drama, too, is usually treated as humor in the comics. The bickering of husband and wife, as in "Bringing Up Father," throws a humorous if somewhat vulgar light on the elemental drama of family life. Following the homely doings of "Blondie" and her family takes on the quality of peering over the fence at the private life of another family much like your own—but with all the blinds up. Children find a peculiar delight in glimpsing the mishaps and misadventures of ordinary people—especially those they are never permitted to see at home.

History and biography in the comics take the form of stories about heroes, past and present, and stirring world events. The heroes are men and women famous in science, social service, statesmanship, sports, and war. These strips appear either in whole issues, such as "True Comics," or interspersed in other books. They are sometimes both inspirational and instructive and point the way to new educational materials. As in other reading, there is a place in the comics for informational stories as well as for fiction and fantasy, and many children can enjoy both. There is no reason to believe, however, that fact is more suitable than fiction for children's reading, or to assume that only "educational" stories are valid.

Picture presentations of favorite stories from Dickens, Stevenson, Dumas, and other classics—as well as Bible stories and classic fairy tales—have appeared in comic-book form. In the “Classic Comics,” the basic story and much of the language of the original are retained. There naturally arises the question whether such abridgments will deter young people from reading the originals and thus mar the pleasure and profit to be derived from them. This will always be a subject of controversy, for people have strong emotions concerning the inviolability of great works of art and literature, and especially the Bible. There are some who argue that since motion-picture presentations of great novels have actually stimulated the reading of these books, it may be expected that these picture presentations will send young readers to the library for the originals. Others point out that for children who find reading the classics either too difficult or too time consuming, the pictured classics are better than none at all, offering the pleasure of a good story plus at least a speaking acquaintance with the famous characters of famous fiction. There are, however, many who feel that these books are better not read at all than read in a form that is not their own. Similarly, the pictured “Stories from the Bible” have been deplored by some as sacrilege and welcomed by others who believe that, by crystallizing the drama of these ageless stories, they will stimulate an interest in delving deeper into their source.

Stories of jungle adventure find a place—though not a large one—in the comics. Sometimes these are realistic—man against beasts or against the natural hazards of jungle life. More often, however, these stories are fantastic and lurid. The matching of man's wits against brute strength is a valid theme that has always held interest for children. But struggles between rapacious monsters and fair maidens are hardly desirable juvenile reading. There are few of these—but there are enough to merit a word of special condemnation. This is true also of stories featuring a “love interest.” Romantic love enters into only a few of the comics. For the most part hero and

heroine are noble, courageous, chivalrous, and sexless. Magazines that exploit the female form or picture amorous embraces with the obvious purpose of stimulating sex interests are certainly not suitable for children, nor are these found among the children's favorites.

It was inevitable that war, and everything pertaining thereto, should take a large role in the comics in recent years. Not only has the war theme seeped into many adventure strips, but whole magazines are devoted to air and sea and land combat, and stories of army and navy life. The infiltration of spies, saboteurs, and underground activities is everywhere. The concern lest such stories will make children love war and forever hate Germans and Japanese seems farfetched. Children are naturally fierce partisans, and such stories are likely to serve rather as a release for their feelings of aggression already heightened by the war. Through them boys, and girls too, may participate vicariously in this most important "business" of today's adult world. Such adventure strips as "Hop Harrigan" and "Terry and the Pirates" have the further value of stimulating an interest in planes and flying and in the people who are our allies.

This, then, is the over-all picture of what the comics are offering their young readers. As to what the children are finding in them that is so compelling, we have, of course, no actual research to give us specific data. We have only opinion, based upon knowledge and observation of children, and the assumptions of psychologists, psychiatrists, and educators.

We note, for example, that one outstanding ingredient is common to them all: *action*. In the comics things happen! They begin happening on the first page—and they keep on happening fast and furiously to the very last. This is, of course, not in the best literary tradition, since it is certainly not "true to life." But it is life as the young readers would live it. It is escape from the humdrum of their own daily routine wherein, as one child complained, "Nothing ever happens!"

And the comics are contemporary. This fact is immensely signif-

icant for those who seek to understand their appeal to children. Almost universally they deal with today's scene, and its trappings: cars, planes, guns, bombs, gangsters, workers, police, flyers, and ordinary people. It is about these things that children—yes, even very nice children—want to know. Children are passionately contemporary.

So is their language. The colloquialism of the comics is another characteristic that commends them to children. While the hero uses impeccable English, other characters indulge in a wide variety of slang, gangster lingo, and street jargon which young readers roll off their tongues with evident relish. The nonsensical gibberish of "Popeye" and the teen-age patter of jive and jitterbug are the young idea of fun. On this point the Children's Book Committee reports: "Such deviations are not likely to affect the language habits of children, which derive from deeply rooted home and school standards and not from casual contact with any entertainment medium. Even where children do ape certain expressions in the comics, this is a passing and legitimate form of enjoyment."

Over and above all else is the fact that the comics are easy reading. The story moves fast. Cause and effect are simple and obvious. The pictures, with small blocks of text, make it easy to follow the story without wordy backgrounds and descriptions which, as the children put it, "slow up the story." There is not even the necessity for halting over the traditional "he said" and "she answered"—quick identification of the speaker is facilitated by the device of balloons.

Teachers and librarians have questioned whether all this may deter children from reading books. While there is no certain answer to this question with respect to all children, there is abundant evidence that many children who read comics also read books—often very good books. Library circulation figures and book sales suggest increases in juvenile reading which hardly bear out our fears. It remains true, however, that there are children who, in their out-of-school hours, read only comics. To these children the comics

afford at least familiarity with a wide vocabulary of printed words. The very fact that they find this reading experience easy and pleasurable may serve to invite them to wider reading if adults are alert to help them bridge the gap. Taking note of their interests, as expressed through their spontaneous choice of comics, parents and librarians must be ready to offer these children books that will truly serve the same interests—not necessarily “great literature,” but books well written, exciting, absorbing, fast moving, contemporary, and easy to read.

We can and should, too, help children learn to discriminate among the comics as among other forms of reading. We cannot choose children’s comics for them, since their choices will be guided by their own particular interests. But we can help them to evaluate differences in quality and worth, remembering, however, that taste and discrimination develop slowly. For many children the reading of comics is a stage through which they pass and from which they graduate to other interests.

But while the *selection* of comics will be the child’s own, the *amount* of such reading is properly the concern of the parent. What constitutes *excessive* comics reading is a question that parents will have to decide in each case. The road to wholesome balance lies not in forbidding or confiscating, not in bargaining or cajoling, but rather in broadening the child’s real experiences. The need is not only for more and better reading but for more real living and doing and adventuring that will give children some of the satisfactions for which they turn to the comics. They will still read the comics since these are a part of today’s world. But for boys and girls whose lives, in school and out, are active and meaningful, the reading of comics will take its proportionate place among the many and varied interests of an exciting world.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S READING AND THE COMICS

Lauretta Bender, M.D.

"Sure, I'd like to be Superman," says six-year-old Peter. "I could fly. I could catch the birds and let them go again. I could catch the bad men and give them to the police. I could be smart. I could be strong. It is his cape. It is magic. With magic you can make everything good"

The absorption of children in the comics is easily understood when we regard it as a part of their constructive experimentation with reality and its problems: problems of the body—its image, its functions, its motility, its boundaries, its similarities and differences to other bodies human and animal; problems of relationships—to the physical world and its forces (with the need for understanding and mastery) and to the social environment (with the need to deal with its problems of aggression and submission, right and wrong, and with the need to believe that the total pattern of the world of reality is one in which the ultimate goal is good) But the child's maturation is too rapid to permit him personally to experiment with and solve every problem. In his fantasy life, however, built as it is on symbols that find many forms of expression, he has an economical mechanism for personal experimentation with reality.

Children's fantasies are a constructive approach to reality, not an escape. Fantasy is a normal part of the development of the child's personality, as he experiments with his needs within the reality available to him. Many children, for example, when parental relationships are inadequate or depriving, use imaginary companions to supplement the emotional satisfactions of the environment. Gifted children, because their needs are greater, may employ this mechanism where the home environment seems normal. The imaginary companion frequently personifies conflicts between id-

impulses and superego, with associated trends of aggression and guilt, or feelings of rejection, inferiority, and loneliness. It is not uncommon for characters from the comics to be used as imaginary companions.

Fantasy as an approach to reality is well illustrated by a series of studies I have conducted in collaboration with Schilder, Woltmann,¹ Lipkowitz, Vogel, Rapaport, and others. These studies used the projective arts as a medium of exploring the fantasy life of children.

Children's drawings, and all their other artistic creations, prove to be projections of their inner life and problems, all the figures they create having symbolic value. All portraits are self-portraits. All human figures reveal the child's concepts of, and concern with, his body image. Studying boats as symbols, Wolfson and I² found when boats appeared in children's drawings, they appeared also in their dreams and other fantasy material. They appeared, in fantasy, to children with some problem in the parent-child relationship during the Oedipus period. The structure of the boat pictures in the fantasies of these children, of course, followed the laws of progressive development and were conditioned by their maturational levels of visual-motor configuration, their personality structures, and the nature of their specific emotional problems. But boats clearly had a common symbolic meaning. Rapaport and I found animals also to have symbolic meaning in children's fantasies. Such fantasy symbols occur in normal as well as in problem children.

Woltmann and I employed hand-puppet shows as a medium for exploring children's fantasies. Puppets adapt themselves well to the child's psychological needs for free expression of action and aggression, for free identification with characters, and for the projection of his problems. They also afford opportunity to experiment with different solutions of these problems.

¹ Laurretta Bender and F. Woltmann, "Play and Psychotherapy," *The Nervous Child*, I (1942), 17-42

² Laurretta Bender and W. Wolfson, "The Significance of the Nautical Theme in the Art of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIII (1943), 462-467

Of plays available, classical ones based on folklore proved most successful. Psychiatrist and puppeteer were soon collaborating, however, on the writing of new plays focused on the problems of childhood. The child audience was used continuously to accept, reject, or modify the elements of the scripts. This modification was further effected through discussion by the children as a group and the puppet plays they spontaneously created. Individual psychiatric interviews also yielded materials that contributed. Thus the children experimentally created their own puppet plays.

The child identified every character with himself, his parents or siblings, or some other feature of his interpersonal relationships. Rapid action and frequent repetition, both within each play and in the series of plays, were important psychological factors in this identification. Continuity was maintained by the chief character, "Caspar," with whom the child readily identified himself. It was found that the fantasy life stimulated in the child by the puppet plays is comparable to the dream life and free association in adults and can similarly be used in therapy.

Fantasy, then, is a constructive aspect of the child's experimental exploration of reality, of his progressive relating of himself to reality, of his trial-and-error attempts to solve his reality problems. There is growing recognition by educators, as well as by psychotherapists, that such projective techniques of self-expression as drawing, the plastic arts, writing, the drama, and play are essential to the child's development and adjustment to his world. It should be obvious that the "spectator role" in literature, art, the drama, and other forms (as in puppet shows) may be an equally economical, if more subtle, way for the child to experiment with solutions of the problems arising in his relationship with his physical and social reality.

The environment may not afford the child opportunities for expressing himself. He may lack the aptitude and technical skills. His inner life may outrun his motor capacities for self-expression. The spectator arts may then meet his need, facilitate his personality

growth, enrich every area of his experience. The spectator role provides what Schilder refers to as "symbols or symbol-like pictures" which are "signs pointing to an unclearly seen object. They appear where the experimentation process belonging to a specific maturation level is prevented by danger or threat, or is as yet incomplete. The symbol should not be a purpose in itself, but a step toward the final mastery of reality. It is justified when the immediate reality would otherwise be too difficult."³ This is the justification of fantasy, projected or otherwise, in the psychological economy of the child's nature.

In the course of these studies, we encountered, time and again, the projection of the child's fantasy upon the characters and stories of the comic books, or the child's incorporation of the characters and solutions of reality problems into his inner-fantasy life.⁴ It soon became evident to us that comics were almost universally read by children. As psychiatrists, we were quick to assume that they served to fulfill the psychological needs of the child. After study, we concluded that the comics (dealing with universal problems of relationship of the self to physical and social reality; replete with rapid action and repetition; given continuity by a central character who, like Caspar, invites identification; free to experiment with fantastic solutions, but with good ultimately triumphing over evil), like the folklore of other times, serve as a means to stimulate the child's fantasy life and so help him solve the individual and sociological problems inherent in his living.

The strip writers usually have little or no insight into the psychological processes important to the development of the child or to their own unconsciousness. But this is true in general of literature and art; and yet creative ability still abides by all the rules which belong to human development and expression. It is true that a few script writers are conscious of some of the psychological and socio-

³ Paul Schilder, "The Child and the Symbol," *Scientia* (July 1938), 21-28

⁴ Bender and Lourie, "The Effect of Comic Books on the Ideology of Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatrics*, XI (1941), No. 3

logical factors which they manipulate.⁵ But even then it is probable that their strips flow from their pen ahead of their awareness of psychological processes. Woltmann and I, in writing puppet plays for problem children, soon found that we did best to create the play largely from fantasy material and learn secondarily the psychological meanings by the response of the children. We also learned, thereby, to be more courageous in our expressions of aggression and in depicting critical problems in human relationships, as long as we always worked toward a solution and repeated our plays often enough to let the children work them out.

So far corrective tendencies in comic writing from censors, self-appointed or otherwise, have tended to sterilize the comic as a means of satisfying the psychological needs of children. To remove fantasy (as embodied in "Superman," "Wonder Woman," "Captain Marvel" and "Captain Midnight," the "Phantom," "Batman," and "The Flash"), or to reduce comics to the true and the real (as in "True Comics"), tends to make them more threatening and productive of anxiety, because they offer no solution to the problem of aggression in the world.

The heroic technique of such scripts forces the child to identify himself either with the one who is attacked by the aggressor, or with the aggressor himself; whereas a happy admixture of fantasy and realism makes possible an experimental approach to reality through symbolization. This is illustrated by the above mentioned comics, the adventures of the Justice Society in "All-Star Comics," and many others.

One bright eleven-year-old boy said, "I like all the mystery comics because they tell what is true. I mean, Superman always gets the bad guy. I know it is fiction, of course, but it is the true way of things. That's what I like about it. I like the detective pictures because they always figure it out and catch the bad guys. I like the crime pictures,

⁵ See Dr. William Moulton Marston, "Why 100,000,000 Americans Read the Comics," *The American Scholar*, XIII (1943-1944), 35.

too, because the police always catch the criminals and take them to jail." (But sometimes the comics are not too convincing, and suppose the criminals kill the police and get away?) "Well, there are plenty of police in the country and others will catch them and take them to jail somewhere sometime" (But suppose in the comic they didn't?) "Then I wouldn't read the comic." This was a boy who was intellectually and emotionally capable to deal with reality; but he also enjoyed, in comics, fantasy which enhanced the securities needed to solve life's problems.

In general we have offered to the strip writer the following advice: Actual mutilation or violence or death should not occur in relation to any character with which the child can identify himself or his parents or his "cause." Nor should any such act be committed by such a character against any other unless the situation can be morally justified. Even if a situation is historically true, a part of classical literature, or even of the Bible, this rule should be observed. In such an instance, it would be even more seriously disturbing to the child. If, on the other hand, such an act is committed by some fanciful primitive (such as an animal), or by some enemy character, it can be more readily accepted and used by the child. The danger arises from overwhelming anxiety or guilt for oneself or a parent (or authority or superego). Such an anxiety or guilt paralyzes the child's approach to reality, the resolution of his problems.

The problem of children's attitude toward death is a somewhat more complicated one. In their play or fantasy, children frequently kill without suffering any anxiety. Similarly, they can tolerate death in art and literature. But their attitude toward death must be understood. Children do not believe in the immutability of death. In their play, they kill in order to experiment with their own problems of aggression and in order to determine how strong they are. They believe that the dead are merely inactive for a while. Their dead soldiers always come to life again, sometimes after a hospital experience, sometimes even after a funeral, sometimes just because of the child's need to have them alive again for more experiments.

What of the comic as an art form? Children's spontaneous art work always appears to be incomplete; they seem to produce only in fragments when left to themselves and not urged by some adult to make a complete picture. Their art work is a projection of their inner fantasy life which is a vital, active, continuous process, never in itself complete. Any effort to capture and project a portion of it can result in nothing but fragments. Furthermore, it is an example of the child's trial and error method of experimenting with life. The child is only interested in it as an approach to reality and not as a work of art. Finally, it represents action in motion and is not supposed to stand alone.

If one will take all the fragments of work of any one child over a given period of time when he has been free to produce art work at will, one can get a relatively complete story, assuming one knows how to read the story. One gets something very similar to a comic strip. The experimental features of the comic strips are highly significant to the child for the same reason; the facility for depicting successive numbers, the opportunity for infinite repetition with minor differences, for infinite continuity, all kinds of spatial relations, and the different postures and motilities of the body. These things may not always be beautiful or they may not succeed experimentally but they are psychologically important to the child.

The language of the comic, which is often so offensive to the adult, has the same problems and meaning for the child as the pictorial content. It represents experimentation. It should not be expected to represent a model that the child will imitate, but an enormously fluid, fleeting, voluble substrata of play in language which Freud⁹ refers to as "the play which appears in children when they are learning how to use words and connect thoughts. The playing is probably the result of an impulse which urges the child to exercise his capacities. During this process he experiences pleasurable effects which originate from the repetition of similarities and the redis-

⁹ S. Freud, *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious* (Modern Library edition of the *Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*), pp. 633-806

covery of the familiar and sound associations." An important feature of the comics is that they are voluble, that many are published rapidly and cheaply, and that they are all very much alike and are quickly replaced. These features should never be sacrificed. They have their own meaning and values. Furthermore, they reduce the damage which may result from individual items that are excessively distorting and psychologically invalid.

Now let us consider some of the comic characters and what they mean. Peter has already told us about "Superman." But "Superman" has other features, too. He is not always "Superman." He is "Clark Kent," a rather ordinary person, even ridiculed at times by "Lois Lane." But when he puts on his cape, his ego expands into the super-ego; his body image has many superlative qualities. He is strong, brave, good. He can overcome gravity, time, space, all inhibitions, and badness. He has X-ray vision. He always uses his powers for good, never killing a bad man but only turning him over to justice. He deals with all kinds of physical and social problems. There are numerous characters like him in one or another respect: all the members of the Justice Society, "The Flash," "The Phantom," "The Green Lantern."

Some can change their identity by sheer acts of will, some by magic words. Others can accomplish desired feats without changing their identity. By mere impulse they can shoot into space, penetrate the earth, reach Mars, swim under water, go backwards into time. Some use clever devices such as invisible planes, rockets, etc. The "Batman" is significant because of "Robin," a boy who accompanies the "Batman" and is "fathered" by him. It shows the role of the "Batman" as the ideal father or superego. The "Guardian" plays a similar role to the Newsboy Legion.

A number of significant girl characters have appeared to deal with the problem of passivity-activity, femininity-masculinity, or aggression and submission, and have dealt with these problems in

as modern a way as the latest psychoanalytic studies.⁷ "Wonder Woman" is in many ways the counterpart of "Superman." For adults she apparently is erotically unattractive if not repellent. For children, she deals with all the important psychological problems. She is an ordinary but good human being until she puts on her costume, when she can overcome all physical resistances. She can help people in need. She can change the direction of a warship or a bomb in flight. She can make herself little and offer herself for play to a lonely child. Her power to attract and hold lies in a lariat, which her author, William Moulton Marston, says represents "love appeal." One is not always convinced by his symbols, perhaps because he is too conscious of them. But "Wonder Woman" represents a good try at solving the very timely problems of the girl's concept of herself as a woman and of her relationship to the world.

Great adaptability and fluidity in dealing with social and cultural problems, continuity through characters who deal with the individual's essential-psychological involvement with these problems, an experimental attitude and technique—these are the positive qualities of the comics.

⁷ Helene Deutsch, *Psychology of Women* (New York: Grunc and Stratton, 1944).

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THE COMICS AND INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD

W. W. D. Sones

The way to a man's heart is through his stomach, it is said. A good many teachers, not all, of course, believe that figuratively speaking it is a good way to his mind. The point here, of this bit of folk wisdom, is that modern developments in the area of popular entertainment have made contributions to educational method. In recent decades, invention and technology have developed motion pictures, the radio, and, latterly, the comic. The first two have already been harnessed to the purposes of education. It is appropriate to examine from the standpoint of educational method this most recently arrived entertainment device that has attracted such an extraordinary following. Any form of language that reaches one hundred million¹ of our people naturally engages the attention of educationists, whose major activity is communication.

Since 1935, the birth year of the comic magazine, also the beginning of the period of extraordinary multiplication of the newspaper comic strip, the comics have evoked more than a hundred critical articles in educational and nonprofessional periodicals. Most of these have dealt with the sociology of the comics; that is, problems of ethics or problems of taste under the guise of ethics. But in the last three years there has appeared an increasing volume of literature dealing with the relations of the comics to education and educational method. This study will be limited to an exploration and analysis of this area.

Paul Witty² and associates studied the content of the reading of comics among 2,500 children distributed throughout the school grades. He found that they were read by almost all of the children

¹ William Moulton Marston, "Why 100,000,000 Americans Read Comics," *The American Scholar*, XIII (1943-1944), 1

² Paul Witty, "Children's Interests in Reading the Comics," *Journal of Experimental Education*, X, 100-104.

in the middle grades, with somewhat decreased popularity on the senior-high-school level. These findings support the statement of the publishers that 95 per cent of children 8 to 14 years old, inclusive, and 65 per cent of the 15- to 18-year-olds read comic magazines. The reason for the children's interest in the comics was studied by Reynolds³ and by several other investigators. In response to the inquiry, "Why do you like the comics?" it was found that the children's replies, "Like the stories" and "Easy to read," appeared with almost equal frequency.

These facts have two implications for instructional method. The comics call forth an activity common to most school children, and they employ a language that apparently is almost universally understood. It is generally admitted that instruction must begin in the on-going activities and concerns of the learner and that its effectiveness depends on the efficiency of the form of communication that is employed. Both of these relations with instructional method have been used as a basis for classroom practices by various teachers.

Many of these experiments have been in the field of language, and on the level of the middle grades and junior high school Harold Downes,⁴ instructor in English in Lynn, Massachusetts, Industrial Arts High School, with the assistance of the publishers of the Superman-D. C. Comic Magazines, prepared a workbook in language. This is a laboratory guide in English study involving vocabulary and word meanings, language interpretations, identification of language forms, and other aspects of language study. Mr. Downes and others who have used the device reported unusual interest on the part of the pupils using it, but that it presented the annoying difficulty of causing the youngsters to complete a whole week's work in one evening! Another study carried on in a summer workshop at the University of Pittsburgh identified some twenty-five

³ George R. Reynolds, "The Children's Slant on Comics," *School Executive*, LXXII, 17-18

⁴ Harold Downes and Robert L. Thorndike, *The Superman Work Book* (New York Juvenile Group Foundation, 125 East 46th Street)

different classroom uses for selected comic magazines. Perhaps of chief importance among these were their use in remedial reading instruction. Teachers in other subject areas also suggested possible uses. The following quotation from the report of the study^a is of interest:

In individualizing and personalizing instruction the comic book has possibilities for certain types of pupils. There are the so-called slow readers. . . . Usually this is a child who is older than the average of his group. For these children there is a dearth of suitable reading material available on the upper grade and junior high school levels. What is available may fit the pupil's reading ability but not his reading interests. For many of these children comic books provide practice material that is needed. . . .

There is also a large group of children which teachers frequently classify as non-academic. It includes the whole range of abilities from dull to bright. This group is bored and sometimes rebellious when the formal school subjects are presented in a formal way. . . . Sometimes the language, geography, history and science that are included in the text of the comic book are so vitalized in the story that this kind of pupil can be led to further work in these academic fields. . . .

There is also the unsocial type of pupil for whom the comic book may be a remedial instrument. Psychiatrists have reported that this type of child very often lets off his steam in the reading of a comic thriller.

In general, both newspaper and magazine comics are produced for the purpose of popular entertainment. That the comic magazine would be pointed in the direction of instruction was a natural development. Mr. M. C. Gaines, its originator, also the discoverer of a leading comic character, "Superman," originally was a school-master. He recognized the effectiveness of the picture continuity technique and developed "Picture Stories from the Bible" with a view to instruction as well as popular interest. The publication is having wide use in Sunday-school instruction and has already reached a circulation of best-seller proportions. He is now publish-

^a W. W. D. Sones, "Comics in the Classroom," *School Executive*, LXI, 31-33

ing serially "Picture Stories from American History" pointed both to popular and school instruction.

Other publishers have developed comic magazines that are designed to be entertainingly instructive. Two of these publications are the magazines, "True Comics" and "Real Life Comics," in which biographical and adventure stories are taken from real life and presented in pictorial form. Another publisher has abbreviated and pictorialized various pieces of classical literature which are published in the magazine, "Classic Comics." Among these pictured classics are: *Tale of Two Cities*, *Ivanhoe*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and other classical titles that are a part of the regular English curriculum in literature. It is reported that all these publications are used in classroom activities. History, geography, and science have been prepared in comic-strip form and presented in *Junior Scholastic*, a current-events magazine for school children.

Perhaps the widest current educational use of the picture or cartoon continuity is in military instruction. The comic character "Li'l Abner" is instructing new soldiers in military courtesy, safety, and other elements of basic training. "Joe Palooka," syndicated also in service newspapers, is said to be effective in influencing behavior and morale. Similar use of the picture continuity for educational purposes is being made by the C.I.O., Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the East-West Association.

The reading of comic magazines as an indicator of the reading interests of junior-high-school pupils has been used by a number of English teachers as a starting point for classroom studies in the field of literature. Harriet E Lee,⁹ using newspaper and magazine comics brought in by her pupils, developed two English units of work entitled, "Working With the Cartoonists" and "Magazines." Analytical and comparative studies were made. The children tried their hands at developing cartoon sequences, studied the narratives and the implications, and, finally, derived standards of quality and value

⁹ Harriet E Lee, "Discrimination in Reading," *English Journal*, XXXI, 677-678

through group discussion. Kinneman⁷ used this same procedure, which led to the formation of reading lists in the whole field of literature that would provide the same satisfaction as did the comics. The classes of Beryl K. Sullivan⁸ analyzed the comic stories and discovered that they were to be distinguished by being "short in content, interesting, intriguing, and illustrated." As a result of this judgment, "the teacher placed in her room a wide variety of books, magazines, and papers; they covered the main interests of the group from sewing and the making of model airplanes to mystery and adventure."

The variety and extent of usage of the picture continuity in instruction suggests the need for a technical analysis of this communication device in relation to instruction and learning. When taken apart the picture continuity has the following features: the narrative is presented in a sequence of pictures or cartoons; the focus of the narrative is always on people and rarely departs from the central character; animation is effected in the succession of pictures; sensory appeal usually is heightened by the use of colors; attention is held by brevity; finally, the theme and story are humanized to deal with popular feelings, thoughts, and actions. Each of these structural elements caters to the popular inclination, in reading activity, for vividness, action, brevity, and personalization. Perhaps the latter, the personal and human elements, because of identification and empathy, explains the moving influence of the medium.

The modern picture continuity improves on primitive picture writing in that it supplements representation with textual additions of description, dialogue, even reflection. Picture and text are not only complementary, but frequently parallel. In relation to language structure, Thorndike⁹ found that the typical comic magazine con-

⁷ Fleda C. Kinneman, "Comics and Their Appeal to the Youth of Today," *English Journal*, XXXII, 331-335.

⁸ Beryl K. Sullivan, "Superman Licked," *The Clearing House*, XVII, 428-429.

⁹ Robert L. Thorndike, "Words and the Comics," *Journal of Experimental Education*, X, 110-113.

tained about 10,000 running words of reading matter with 92 per cent of the wordage among the most common 1,000 in the Thorndike Word List, a fraction less than 6 per cent distributed throughout the remainder of the list, and a fraction more than 1 per cent not included. He estimated the level of difficulty of the reading matter as being fifth to sixth school grade. Hill¹⁰ studied the vocabulary of a large sample of comic strips and found that their vocabulary was somewhat less difficult than that found by Thorndike for comic magazines. He made a special study of the language vulgarisms and found that 5 per cent of the words might be classified as slang, phonetic spelling, and onomatopoeia. Thorndike concluded that the amount of wordage and the character of the vocabulary gave the juvenile reader valuable practice in the reading art. Hill's opinion was that the number of "word distortions" was not sufficient to influence language habits undesirably.

Frances Heene¹¹ studied the ideational content of the comic strips as also did Lawrence Kessel.¹² Both of these were based on comic strips appearing in Chicago daily newspapers. These two writers arrived at divergent interpretations. Kessel was disposed to condemn the popular social "assumptions" that were portrayed or implied in the strips, while Miss Heene, from the angle of a librarian, was disposed to take a more tolerant view appraising the strips as reflecting current popular thought and feeling. However, both recognized the comic strip as a part of the current social scene and inferred that even with its questionable features it might be used for educational purposes as object lesson material.

From the standpoint of structure and content, therefore, it appears the newspaper comic and the comic magazine can be appro-

¹⁰ George E. Hill, "Word Distortions in Comic Strips," *Elementary School Journal*, XLIII, 520-525

¹¹ William S. Gray, editor, *Conference on Reading*. The University of Chicago, Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 57, 1943

¹² Lawrence Kessel, "Some Assumptions in Newspaper Comics," *Childhood Education*, XXIX, 349-353

priated for several different kinds of instructional activities. These usages may range from "horrible examples" serving as starting points to lead to the discovery of finer literary, language, or art forms, to their use as vehicles to realize the purposes of the school in the improvement of reading, language development, or acquisition of information. However, conceding such possible uses, what if any would be the gains over instructional instruments that are now employed?

Thus far there exists but a small amount of experimentally derived evidence concerning the effectiveness of the picture continuity in instruction. The present writer carried on an exploratory study to determine the relative effectiveness of the pictorial continuity in relation to printed text in learning factual information for immediate recall. The life and work of Clara Barton was presented in picture continuity in the comic magazine "Wonder Woman" which, in reprint form, was made available for experimentation by the publishers. The story in textual form was copied from the pictured form. About four hundred children in sixth and ninth grades were divided into sixteen matched groups by grade and by three intelligence levels—lower, middle, and upper. The dividing lines for the latter were I.Q. 91 and 111. In each pair one group was presented with the picture continuity form and the other with the printed text form of the narrative. The reading was followed immediately by an objective test on the content. One week later the procedure was reversed and the groups retested by the same test. A strong trend in favor of the picture continuity was indicated by the two sets of results. In the first testing for all but one of the picture groups the mean score was from ten to thirty per cent higher than the paired printed text group. In the second testing all of the eight groups who first read the printed text made significantly higher improvement in scores than did the paired groups who first read the picture continuity. Mean scores of the experimental and control groups on the second test were parallel. In other words, the picture groups seemed

to have learned almost as much as they were capable of learning from their first reading while the groups reading the printed text first had not reached the saturation point, but did so by a second reading in the picture form. Furthermore, while the brighter children learned, for immediate recall, practically the same amount from either picture continuity or printed text, the results favored the picture continuity for the low and middle intelligence levels.

Even in the absence of extensive scientific data as to the relative effectiveness in communication of the picture continuity, there is important supporting evidence from other sources. Circulation figures in themselves are important data. The extent and content of the fan mail received by the creators of popular comic strips as reported by Milton Caniff, Ham Fisher, and others reveals the moving influence of the medium. And, finally, advertisers experimenting with the picture continuity form in comparison with the conventional text form are reported as getting unusual results.

The explanation of the effectiveness of the picture continuity is far from complete at this time. The opinion of Marston¹³ follows:

Strange as it may seem, it is the form of comics-story telling, "artistic" or not, that constitutes the crucial factor in putting over this universal appeal. The potency of the picture story is not a matter of modern theory but of anciently established truth. Before man thought in words, he felt in pictures. Man still prefers to short-cut his mental processes by skipping the laryngial substitutes and visualizing directly the dramatic situations that rouse his emotions. It's too bad for us "literary" enthusiasts, but it's the truth nevertheless, pictures tell any story more effectively than words.

Another line of evidence may also have bearing on the problem of how and why the picture continuity is effective in communication. This would deal with the capacity of people to master the art of reading. On this point, Gray¹⁴ makes the following statement:

As indicated by studies of the readability of books, at least half of our

¹³ Marston, *op cit*

¹⁴ Gray, *op cit*

population is unable to read any of the printed material above the mid-point in the range of difficulty. In terms, therefore, of the reading material available, it may be said that as a nation we are far less than fifty per cent literate.

On the other hand, Marston,¹² making computations from the circulation of daily and Sunday newspapers featuring comic strips and from the circulation of comic magazines, concluded that, "One hundred million is a very conservative estimate of the total number of men, women, and children who habitually read story-strips in the United States today." The difference between these figures may well be a measure of the relative effectiveness of the two forms of communication.

An assumption implied in most school instruction is that all children will read the printed materials with equal effectiveness. This is indicated by the current practice of attempting mass education through the medium of a common textbook. The absurdity of this practice is patent. Since all the children of all the people are to be found in school even on its upper levels, then of course there is the same wide range in reading competency as is indicated in the figures above. This points to the necessity of making the same adjustment in the forms of communication used in school as is developing in the popular press for adults.

¹² Marston, *op cit*

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SOME USES OF VISUAL AIDS IN THE ARMY

Major Paul A. Witty, A.G.D.

Perhaps the most conspicuous educational feature of the Army's training program is the widespread use of visual aids. Most of these aids, the film strip, the motion picture, etc., had already been employed successfully in our schools. But it remained for the Army to demonstrate how widely they could be applied and how efficient they could prove in an educational program seeking rapid mastery of certain skills. It should be pointed out that in the Army's training program the objectives are quite definite. These clearly defined aims have made it possible to develop and appraise visual aids with relative ease. Educators will be increasingly impressed by the Army's outstandingly successful experience with visual aids.

Many other training aids have also been employed to advantage by the Army. For example, recordings have been widely used. However, the conspicuous success and appeal of the visual aid make it of special interest to the educator. In this paper the writer will limit his discussion to the following visual aids: (1) the film strip; (2) the instructional film; (3) comics, cartoons, and pictures; (4) graphic portfolios; (5) maps; (6) actual objects and models.

Many of the illustrations in this paper will be drawn from the use of visual aids in a training program designed for functionally illiterate and non-English-speaking men. In Special Training Units, such men are provided academic and military training which helps them develop sufficient literacy skill, arithmetic ability, and orientation in military subjects to be able to proceed successfully with regular basic military training. The training cycle is planned not to exceed twelve weeks, although an occasional man is permitted to remain sixteen weeks. The average length of the training period is eight weeks. Eighteen hours per week are devoted to academic instruction and thirty hours to military training.

To aid in the accomplishment of the mission of special training, the Special Training Branch, Military Training Division, Army Service Forces Headquarters,¹ has devised and made available special materials of instruction; e.g., *The Army Reader*, *Army Arithmetic*, a weekly and a monthly publication, and guides for the instructors. A more complete description of the program of Special Training Units has been presented elsewhere.²

Academic and military instruction is related closely in Special Training Units. Lessons designed to improve reading skill, language usage, and arithmetic ability generally deal with Army problems or situations. Specialized vocabularies are devised for military subjects and appropriate exercises are arranged so that the academic and military presentations are coordinated.

The use of visual aids has greatly accelerated the learning process in Special Training Units. Illiterate and non-English-speaking men now attain academic proficiency sufficient to proceed in the Army in the surprisingly short period of eight weeks. Over 90 per cent of the trainees succeed in making the critical scores required on objective tests in this period of time.

The Film Strip

In Special Training Units widespread use is made of the film strip. A film strip is a continuous series of still pictures, charts, or diagrams, prepared on 35 mm. safety film. Speed of projection is controlled by the instructor or his assistant. Any frame in a film strip can be held on the screen until the class has mastered its contents; and any frame or series of frames may be reviewed as many times as necessary.

¹ This was formerly the Development and Special Training Section, Training Branch, Adjutant General's Office

² Paul A. Witty and Samuel Goldberg, "The Army's Training Program for Illiterate, Non-English Speaking, and Educationally Retarded Men," *Elementary English Review* (December 1943), pp. 306-311

Paul A. Witty and Samuel Goldberg, "The Use of Visual Aids in Special Training Units in the Army," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (February 1944), pp. 82-90

The following film strips have been developed to meet the needs of men in Special Training Units: "A Soldier's General Orders"; "Military Discipline and Courtesy"; "How to Wear Your Uniform"; "The Story of Private Pete," for aiding in the acquisition of a basic stock of sight words; "Introduction to Numbers," for introducing the vocabulary, symbols, and group concepts of arithmetic; "Introduction to Language," two film strips, one for teaching nouns and the other for presenting verbs and prepositions; and "The World," for introducing geographic vocabulary and concepts.

Motivation of each film strip is carefully planned. In some film strips situations which the soldier has previously encountered in civilian life are employed. For example, in introducing "How to Wear Your Uniform," several frames are given over to the presentation of civilians in uniform; e g., policemen, firemen, and football players. In "Military Discipline and Courtesy," introductory frames show men tipping their hats to ladies, helping their neighbors fix their cars, and in other ways demonstrating courtesy. In other film strips the motivating frames deal with familiar and interesting Army situations.

Each film strip is logically organized to meet the needs of the men and the objectives of training. The language is simple and direct. Frames are not cluttered with detail or irrelevant material. Opportunity is provided for repetition and review. And correlation of military and academic subject matter is achieved.

Of great value to the teacher is an *Illustrated Instructor's Reference* which has been issued for each film strip. The *Reference* states the purpose of the strip; indicates general teaching procedures to be followed; and contains specific suggestions for presenting every frame. The picture in each frame is reproduced in the *Reference*. Under each picture are teaching suggestions. Thus, the instructor can preview the film strip while preparing his lesson.

All of these film strips will be of interest to educators. However, FS 12-5, "The Story of Private Pete," should prove especially pro-

vocative. It presents about fifty words in a related episode. These words are among the most frequently used words in camp. They are also the words which the men need to recognize in order to read the first parts of the *Army Reader* and to converse and write simply. Thus, this film strip has a "readiness" or preparatory function. It is also useful in remedial work.

"The Story of Private Pete" is made up of four series of frames dealing with early experiences in camp: (1) Private Pete and His Uniform, frames 2 to 12; (2) Private Pete Looks at His Camp, frames 13 to 22; (3) Private Pete Eats His Dinner, frames 23 to 33; (4) Private Pete Goes to Bed, frames 34 to 44.

Each of the above series consists of approximately ten frames which present an over-all picture of a camp scene, and several breakdowns of this scene with attention centered on certain objects labeled with single words. The largest number of new words on any frame is three. About eight frames are used to introduce the words in each series. Then another frame is employed to present the words and the objects for which they stand in a new setting. There are no labels on this frame. Still another frame follows in which the new words are printed in a column on the side. In the picture the objects for which these words stand can readily be identified. Two summary frames contain a printed story in which the words of the series are used in a meaningful sequence. This presentation is consistent with the way people normally learn language. Moreover, it offers the student a challenging, highly interesting experience with language.

The *Instructor's Reference* for FS 12-5 contains:

1. General principles and suggestions for teaching vocabulary by associating words with a variety of objects and experiences
2. Specific suggestions for using the film strip in Special Training Units
3. An exact reproduction of each frame in the strip, followed by appropriate comments and suggestions
4. A test for measuring the student's acquisition of the 46 words used in the film strip

It is at once clear that the value of the film strip depends in large measure upon the way in which it is used. If used judiciously, the film strip may prove more effective than other methods of introducing words.

Two other film strips, FS 12-7 and FS 12-8, "Introduction to Language," are available to extend the presentation in "The Story of Private Pete." They introduce 46 other nouns, 31 verbs, and 12 prepositions. These film strips are designed to offer additional help to men who are learning to speak English and to other students who experience difficulty in acquiring a working vocabulary.

The Instructional Film

The use of training films constitutes a regular part of military instruction. The men in Special Training Units are shown various motion pictures. Some of these deal with orientation, personal hygiene, organization of the Army, military discipline and courtesy, and related topics. A number of training films are shown at the Reception Center before the men come to Special Training Units. Others are introduced at appropriate periods throughout the training cycle.

Illiterate and non-English-speaking men often find themselves confused by films shown to them at Reception Centers and in the early stages of their training. The dialogue is frequently too difficult and the action in some of the films proceeds at too rapid a pace. Accordingly, a number of precautions have been taken to make sure that the men in Special Training Units are prepared to profit from seeing films. The showing of each film is planned so as to coincide with the emphasis given each topic in the instructional program. Moreover, the instructor prepares the men for seeing a film by suggesting items or points to be looked for, by defining some of the difficult words, and by discussing each topic to be presented. A test is frequently used to check the students' understanding after they have seen a film.

Cartoons, Comics, and Pictures

It is well known that the comics have wide appeal among children and adults. The writer of this article made several studies a few years ago of the extent to which comics were read by children and young people. In one study, several thousand children in grades IV, V, and VI were interviewed or given questionnaires. Interest in the comics was found to be general and consistent from grade to grade. The average number of comic magazines read was about fifteen in each of the grades; four of these were read regularly; and four and one half, often. Comic strips also were generally read; twenty-six was the average number reported. Of these, about fifteen were read regularly; and five, often.*

In the seventh and eighth grades interest in the comics continued.[†] Children here were attracted somewhat less frequently to the comic magazines, although many of the favorites of the middle grades were still read. However, interest in the comic strip was maintained with the same intensity as in the lower grades.

In the high school there was a decrease in the reading of comic books. The average number read fell to about five, with a steady decrease from grades IX to XII. Despite this sharp decrease, it is fitting to point out that this form of reading held high rank. In fact, the comic magazines constituted at least one fourth of the total number of magazines read by the high-school students included in the investigations

Among these high-school pupils there was great interest in the comic strip. The average number of comic strips read was about eighteen; of these, more than nine were read regularly. This average remained constant from grades IX through XII.

It has been observed also that adults frequently read and enjoy the

* Paul Witty, "Children's Interest in the Comics," *Journal of Experimental Education* (December 1941), and "Reading the Comics—A Comparative Study," *ibid*

† Paul Witty, E. Smith, and A. Coomer, "Reading the Comics in Grades VII and VIII," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (March 1942)

comics. Accordingly, comic strips have been employed to present certain facts or information in the Army. It was believed that the men would be greatly interested in this type of presentation. Thus, the monthly magazine, *Our War*, contains a cartoon or comic strip as one of its regular features. The writer has repeatedly questioned men in Special Training Units about their attitude toward this strip. They report that it is their favorite part of the magazine. This strip relates the experiences of "Private Pete" and his friend, "Daffy." Issues have dealt with the following topics: Christmas in Camp, Pete Goes Home, Marksman Pete, and Pete Meets Gas.

Pictures and Graphic Portfolios

Our War makes extensive use of pictures. Picture pages appear as a regular feature of this magazine. There have been picture pages on the following subjects: Army Christmas; How Airplanes Are Made; Weapons in the Making; Chemical Warfare Weapons; and Women in the War.

Other publications, designed especially for Special Training Units, also use pictures. *Newsmap-Special Edition*, a weekly publication which presents the news of the war on all fronts, is richly illustrated with pictures and maps. *Your Job in the Army*, a pamphlet which contains simple accounts of Army jobs for which Special Training Unit men become qualified, includes pictures and sketches to portray the nature of each job.

Still photographs have been used in many other ways. One of the most effective is the graphic portfolio. Graphic portfolios consist of a series of display panels about three-by-four feet in size; they present certain facts or operations in black and white and color. Used in presenting a subject such as "Rifle Marksmanship" or "Defense Against Chemical Attack," they serve to clarify and emphasize important points. On one side of each panel there is a large picture which is clearly marked, colored, or labeled. On the other side instructions are printed so that the teacher may check himself and be

sure that no important point is overlooked. The portfolio is used indoors and on the field.

Maps

In the *Newsmap-Special Edition*, maps are employed to help the men locate and follow the various fronts on which military action is taking place. Every issue of *Our War* also contains a map page. For example, in one issue the map page dealt with "Neighbors Around the World." A polaroid type of map was used to show distances by air from certain points across the North Pole. At the bottom of the map there were pictures of a Fiji Islander, a Chinaman, an Eskimo, a Russian, an Indian, and a Brazilian. In the accompanying text questions such as these appeared: "Which man lives nearest to us?" and "Which man lives farthest away?" Two other recent issues contained maps of Canada and Mexico, the accompanying stories entitled, "Our Good Northern Neighbor" and "A Good Southern Neighbor." These pictorial maps disclosed the location of minerals, forests, and furs in Canada. In Mexico the places providing minerals, cattle, rubber, coffee, and bananas were shown by appropriate drawings.

Actual Objects and Models

Special Training Units have utilized appropriate objects or models for instructional purposes. For example, in the subject, "Defense Against Air Attack," it is necessary for the men to learn to identify the more prominent American and enemy planes. One Special Training Unit made a set of models of American planes to illustrate the relationships of wings, engines, fuselages, and tails. In other training units models of tanks, mortars, and other weapons have been utilized to advantage.

Sand tables and topographic models have been provided to present an over-all representation of an area. Valleys, streams, elevations, and roads are shown, and buildings and different types of military equipment are placed correctly.

Comments

Army training, whether basic, technical, or specialized, is organized realistically. Instructors have their objectives clearly in mind. Hence they are able to select and use the teaching methods by which different types of materials can be most effectively taught. An indispensable adjunct in promoting rapid learning is the visual aid. Its value has been clearly demonstrated in Special Training Units.

Visual aids will appeal strongly to many educators. Through their use, the effectiveness of instruction in public schools may be greatly improved. There are, however, some dangers in their widespread utilization. Because of their appeal, they may be employed with too little consideration of their applicability in certain situations. It is to be hoped that the selection and use of visual aids will be made with a careful regard for the purposes they are to serve and their place in the total program of education. The careful consideration which the Army has given to these factors has been responsible to a considerable extent for the highly successful results that have been obtained through the use of visual aids.

Major Paul A. Witzy, formerly Professor of Education at Northwestern University, has played a leading role in the Army's educational program for illiterate and non-English-speaking men. The author of many books and articles, he has previously written on psychological and educational aspects of the comics

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This is, so far as the editor can discover, a first attempt to compile a comprehensive bibliography on the comics. It does not pretend to be complete (indeed, the editor hopes many readers will call to his attention articles not included). *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek* have contributed a list of news items about the comics printed in their pages. They give a vivid picture of the place of the comics in our contemporary culture. Liberal reading of the titles in this bibliography is a must for educators who wish to understand the comics as an institution and medium of communication in our culture—their impact on the minds and emotions of both children and adults, their educational possibilities, their potentiality as a social force.

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BOOK REVIEW

Studying the Individual School Child: A Manual of Guidance, by HORACE B. ENGLISH and VICTOR RAIMY. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941, 131 pages.

Much of our psychology to date has been too theoretical for practical classroom application or for an approach to the individual child out of the classroom. Science has found the individual school child somewhat of an embarrassment and has sought to explain him in terms of "mind in general," ignoring the unique dynamic organization within each child. English and Raimy in their *Manual of Guidance* have contributed a constructive step toward the study of the *individual* school child. The purpose of the manual is to assist the teacher in training the student to use effectively the school, the home, the playground, and the community as laboratories in which to work. The manual aims to help give "body" and reality to the psychological study of school children by teachers and prospective teachers. The manual proposes teaching the student how to make a detailed case study of the individual school child, thereby giving him a chance to practise what he learns in the classroom and from his books.

The manual is a logically presented procedure of making a case study of the individual child. General instructions for the project are given in advance; methods of obtaining data are discussed in detail, with great stress placed on the value of the interview. The value, as well as the methods of securing the imperative information of the child's intellectual development, physical development, social development, and character are discussed for the student. After this information, which forms the foundation for a case study, has been given the student, a typical case is discussed in the light of the procedure which was vividly presented in the manual. Using the manual as a guide and paying particular attention to its precautions, the student is enabled to develop an orderly approach to the study of the *individual* child.

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EDITORIAL

But let justice well up as waters,
And righteousness as a mighty stream.

—Amos 5:24

Have we not all one father?
Hath not one God created us?
Why do we deal treacherously every man
against his brother?

—Malachi 2:10

The task of postwar Jewish reconstruction is multilateral. It depends upon the following:

How can statesmen be made to see that democracy and universal peace can be secured only if free government is the cooperative undertaking of different peoples on terms of equal partnership, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed? How can those of the privileged classes today be made to see that anti-Semitism is a canker that eats at the very hearts of all they themselves hold dear; that hatred is a boomerang that can rebound to one's own hurt? How can those who hold the reins of commerce, of industry, of economics be shown that to the minorities we owe many constructive contributions that have influenced modern culture and civilization and that to suppress them means to deny a God-given right of freedom to another human? In a word, how can we best prepare the future of the Jew in a world that is becoming increasingly small,

intimate, and interrelated, and yet at the moment is in the state of chaos and bewilderment?

Education is the only answer. Education is a broad term, however, as we have seen in the use to which the Nazi powers have employed it. Its effect can be for good or evil. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Prov. 22:6). This is sage advice about what can be done toward educating the youth of our nation, but education is not for children alone. It is for the adult as well. It is the adults of today that are molding the children who will become the adults of tomorrow. To educate the adult means to create in him an understanding of the Jew, which will be basic to peaceful relations. Through an elimination of prejudice on his part we can develop an appreciation of the contribution which Judaism has to offer. We can even develop an enthusiasm on his part that will result in the proper rearing of his children. All this will help to cement the foundations of a democracy laid upon liberty, justice, and equal rights for all.

Some may point out that a truly educated man is a tolerant man. That is not enough. Tolerance is not the ideal of democracy. It is the luxury of abundance and security. It implies superiority of the one tolerating, and inferiority of the one to be tolerated. Understanding and appreciation of differences are the ideals of democracy. Democracy teaches respect, respect for another person's opinion, if truthfully and reasonably founded. Democracy for our children to learn and our adults to practise is respect for truth, respect for opinions, that can be righteously defended. Education, if properly applied, may recondition the people so as to remove their inrooted stigma of hatred against each other and the mandatory boundaries of class division. Intelligent thinking and intelligent formation of opinion can lend much to the democracy and to the goal of a universal peace.

In this issue we have tried to present a picture that will stimulate the thinking and direct the opinion of the intelligent person of today. In Part I we present the problems of cultural reconstruction

as affecting the American Jewish community. In Part II we have indicated the elements of the problem which are a part of the responsibility of the allied peoples. We have also touched lightly on the role of the students in the building up of a mutual understanding among the youth of today.

It is recognized that there are many points not covered here, but, in the main, these are primary if we would progress in our aim to achieve a world democracy where nations may live as neighbors, peoples as brothers, and individuals as happy and dignified human beings.

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks,
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more

—Isaiah 2 4

ABRAHAM I. KATSH

Part I. What Is to Be Done—The Responsibility of the Jewish Community

THE ROLE OF AMERICAN JEWS IN POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

Alexander M. Dushkin

Hitler's plan of world domination was to be a mad crescendo, beginning with the weakest and most helpless, and extending ultimately to the strongest and most powerful of nations. The world is being saved from that catastrophe, at the price of untold suffering, bloodshed, and devastation. The Jews who were Hitler's enemy number one suffered longest and most terribly, for against them he sought to wage a war of extermination.

In the many tasks of healing and reconstruction facing the world, the treatment accorded to the Jews will be of barometric significance. It will indicate how much of Hitlerism will have been eradicated and how much will still remain to plague the world anew. The reconstruction of Jewish life in Europe, Africa, and Asia must therefore be the earnest concern of the entire world, as it struggles toward the new freedom. It is naturally of special significance to American fellow Jews whose role is twofold. First, they must keep stirring the conscience of the free nations until the Jews the world over will share fully in freedom and in equality of opportunity. It is sad to learn how little anti-Semitism has been eradicated in some of the liberated countries—Rumania, France, North Africa. Even where anti-Semitic laws have been or will be abrogated, the poison of Nazi teaching still exists among the people, and will remain. American Jewry will have to be on the watchtower for a long time to come, to warn of impending forest fires whose sparks are hidden in anti-Semitism. In the reconstruction and upbuilding of Palestine,

too, it is American Jews who must continue to serve as the articulate and forceful voice of world Jewish needs.

Second, American Jews must themselves be ready to render the direct help that will be required of them as kinsmen and coreligionists. This they have done before, following the First World War, and this they are ready to do again. But this time the task is quantitatively far greater than they can cope with. Only national governments and international agencies can solve problems of repatriation, reuniting of families, restoration of health and security, determination of property rights, rebuilding of homes and industries, reestablishment of economic opportunities, restoration of civic and political rights, etc. American Jews must, however, take upon themselves the role of special advocates, representing their fellow Jews where necessary before governments and international agencies; and they must render physical help and spiritual aid everywhere *prior* to the time when these can be adequately obtained by Jews from properly constituted authorities.

But while in the quantitative aspects of the great problem American Jews can at best play a secondary, though important, role, they can render major and direct help in the qualitative reconstruction of Jewish community life in Europe. Jewish cultural and educational reconstruction should receive the special solicitude of American Jews. The old, fairly stable, normally evolving Jewish civilization in Europe has broken down, perhaps beyond all repair or reconstruction. Cultural leadership has undergone deep-seated changes. What happens culturally to European Jewry is of more than philanthropic interest to American Jews. To be sure, the determination of the new forms of Jewish cultural and educational activity will, naturally and rightly, be made by the local Jewries of Europe. But the character and form of Jewish culture in Europe has influenced American Jewish thinking and living in the past and will most probably continue to do so in the even less isolated world ahead of us. It is important, therefore, that educational bodies like the

National Council for Jewish Education and the American Association for Jewish Education give constant and earnest consideration to this phase of European reconstruction. The three papers in the first part of this issue which follow represent, in a sense, three centers of Jewish life—America (Blumenfield), Eastern Europe (Tartakower, Poland); and Western Europe (Gaster, England). It will not be possible to judge the situation truly, or to attempt to exert any influence, until more data can be gathered on the spot in every European country. This, of course, is possible only after liberation. But such discussions as those which follow have important prognostic value.

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JEWSH EDUCATION IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Samuel M. Blumenfield

The problem of postwar Jewish education can be divided into four main areas: Soviet Russia, Palestine, European countries, and the United States.

Little can be said at this stage of the fortunes of Jewish education in Russia following this war. The story of Jewish education in Russia between the two wars offers little that is encouraging. While many cultural minorities concentrated in certain areas in Soviet Russia made great progress in the field of education following the revolution of 1917, the Jewish school of Soviet Russia lost ground.¹ This retrogression was certainly not due to any discrimination on the part of the Soviet government against Jews. Rather was it due to the fact that Russian Jewry is scattered among the different Soviet cultural minorities and to the special character of Jewish education

¹ In 1927-1928 nearly 50 per cent of Jewish children attended Jewish schools in Russia as compared with some 20 per cent in 1933.

Other minorities in Soviet Russia were able to develop their educational system along lines of secular culture; Jewish education, rooted in Jewish religious lore and tradition, found itself out of harmony with the dominant antireligious policy of the Soviet government of those days. The attempt on the part of Jewish communists to secularize Jewish education by divorcing it from the study of Hebrew (the original language of the Bible), and from the synagogue, by substituting for it the Yiddish language and secular content only hastened the doom of the Jewish school in Russia.

With the changes that are taking place in present-day Russia in the attitude of the government toward religion and the church, there is reason to believe that the Jewish community in Russia will regain some of its freedom to determine the character of the Jewish education of its children. Such a change would lead to the reconstruction of the Jewish school in Russia along more traditional lines, including the study of Hebrew. This will revitalize Jewish education in Soviet Russia.

Not much change is to be expected in Jewish education in Palestine. Hebrew already is the language of the Palestine school, from the kindergarten to the university. In one sense, there will come a change in Jewish education in Palestine. Until the war, Palestine education, both in the general and the specifically Jewish fields, drew its strength from the Diaspora. The Jewish teachers and scholars, as well as the general scientists who serve Palestinian schools, were until recently recruited from Europe and America. The president of the Hebrew University is an American, and for a number of years the head of the Jewish public-school system was an American Jewish educator. With postwar changes, Palestine will become a center of Jewish learning and literary and artistic creativity that will serve not only the needs of Palestinian Jewry but also those of the Jews the world over.

One has reason to be concerned about the fortunes of Jewish education in Eastern European countries. With their numbers deci-

mated, the Jews no longer have communities large enough to command the support of the state for the kind of cultural autonomy that they asked for and received (in principle) at Versailles following the First World War. Both Eastern and Central European Jewry will need assistance in material and in human resources from other Jewish communities to recoup some of the strength and vitality they enjoyed in the course of many centuries.

In Western European lands, such as England and France, Jewish education will be influenced to some degree by events in Palestine and even to a greater extent by developments of Jewish education in the United States, the largest single community in the world.

The United States of America. American Jewry is the only substantial community that has not been materially affected by the war by virtue of its being Jewish. Socially and economically, the Jews of America have shared, during this war, in the sacrifices, responsibilities, handicaps, and advantages of their non-Jewish neighbors. Psychologically, however, the events leading up to the war and the war itself have affected Jewry in a more marked degree than other elements of American society. For years to come, the Jews of this country will remember the horrors perpetrated upon Jews in Nazi-occupied countries; nor will they easily forget the unbridled outpourings of vicious anti-Semitism of the Coughlins, Smiths, and Pelleys in America. Together with millions of other peace- and freedom-loving people of the world, the Jews of America have come to realize that humanity and decency must not be taken for granted. This struggle and defense will have to be carried on by their children as well; hence, the Jews of America are coming to the realization that, in addition to philanthropic services and antidefamation activities, they must evolve a program for the strengthening of the Jewish spiritual and intellectual resources of their youth through an adequate system of Jewish education. As the Jews of America become, together with their fellow citizens, better adjusted economically and the erstwhile need for Jewish charity effort decreases, there

is reason to believe that the material resources and organizational experience accumulated by Jewish philanthropic institutions will be utilized to a greater extent for Jewish education in postwar days

There are a number of other factors that should aid in the task of postwar Jewish education in this country. Many a young Jew who never crossed the threshold of a synagogue or a Jewish institution before the war found in the armed services, the most conspicuous patriotic institution of America, an acceptance and recognition of his "difference," unknown to him in civilian life. Tens of thousands of Jews in uniform will have discovered for the first time that the American Government and society, far from frowning upon their Jewish heritage, as was the experience of their fathers in European lands, actually encouraged it, by placing Jewish religious beliefs and practices on equal footing with those of their non-Jewish neighbors.

This new realization that Jewish self-expression can be achieved as of right rather than of sufferance will go a long way to encourage a half-million young Jews who will have returned after the war to think more earnestly of the importance of Jewish education for themselves and for their children.

Curriculum. Postwar Jewish education in America will be affected in still another way by the fact that European Jewry will have ceased to be the reservoir of Jewish scholars, teachers, authors, and other cultural forces which constituted the mainstay of Jewish education of this country in the past. Responsible elements in American Jewry have come to realize that they themselves will have to create both the resources and the instruments for Jewish survival in this country. These new resources, once developed on American soil, will have the advantage of being congenial to and compatible with the American environment and will thus be able to serve the educational needs of American Jewry to a greater degree and in a more effective manner than those imported from without.

These changes and improvements will not come overnight. Out of a sense of loyalty to and reverence for European centers of Jewish

learning and culture, ruthlessly destroyed by the Nazis, some Jews in this country will feel it their moral duty to maintain the Jewish values and institutions developed in Europe in the course of centuries and hallowed in recent years by the blood of martyrs. Indeed, within the last few years, there have come into being a number of Jewish educational institutions which are even more faithful to Jewish European traditional patterns than those that preceded them. These expressions of loyalty, noble as they are, do not hold much promise for the future, for they do not take into account the realities of American life which are greatly different from those that brought the centers of Jewish culture into being.²

Progressive Jewish educators in this country believe that with the cessation of waves of Jewish immigrants, the Jewish curriculum of past years, built mainly around loyalties to the past, must yield to one that is more closely related to the problems of American Jews of today. Such a reconstructed curriculum would come closer to the actual life experience of the Jewish child and would seek to achieve greater integration between his American interests and Jewish needs. To achieve this end, postwar Jewish education in this country will seek to utilize to a greater degree the leisure time of the Jewish child and youth. Holidays, weekends, and, above all, the summer months that are free from regular school tasks will be used in greater measure, for they offer opportunities not only for more concentrated and effective Jewish learning, but also for Jewish living without which no system of Jewish education can have any appreciable effect upon the fortunes of Jewry or Judaism. Once Jewish education ceases to be merely a concession to traditions of the past and becomes better oriented to present-day Jewish realities, greater care will be given to the Jewish education of youth, an area sadly neglected until now to the detriment of the whole structure of Jewish education in

² An interesting development in Jewish education in America is the progressive all day Jewish school organized in recent years in New York. This type of school is patterned after "private" educational institutions and is limited to children of families of better economic circumstances, who are in earnest about the Jewish education of their children.

America. Jewish education would thus still retain its supplementary character in relation to the public school. It would become life centered rather than verbal or book centered, as it had to be when limited to the counted hours on Sunday morning or on weekday afternoons. Incidentally, too, religious education could make a constructive contribution to the general problem of leisure. In keeping with the growing trend for greater and improved adult education, one may look forward to more earnest efforts in this field, to bridge the gap between education of the young and that of the adult.

Those who are responsible for the fortunes of Jewish education in this country are motivated primarily by their faith in and loyalty to the Jewish religious and cultural heritage. But while the major interest of Jewish educators is Jewish survival, on a dignified and creative level, they are also guided by the conviction that, meeting adequately the needs of Jewish education, they are serving the best interests of American democracy. This conviction is based upon their faith in the social and ethical teachings of Judaism and upon the belief that freedom and democracy can be better achieved through the full expression of the best that there is in every religious, cultural, and racial group in American society.

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FOUNDATIONS OF JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

Theodor H. Gaster

It is erroneously supposed (even by national organizations that should know better) that the task which confronts us is one of restoring prewar or pre-Nazi conditions, of putting libraries, museums, schools, seminaries, and academies back on their feet, as they were in 1939 or before Hitler rose to power. Our problem is, how-

ever, not one of renovation or repair but of laying new foundations. So far as the Jews of Europe are concerned, there are no ruins to rebuild, we have to start from scratch.

And what, in this case, is scratch? Scratch is a realization of the simple fact that the patterns of cultural and educational institutions everywhere are not static and constant, but dynamic and variable, inasmuch as they are the expressions of living and variable communities. Just as the old-time educational system of Eastern European Jewry issued out of the material conditions and ideological outlook of closed, unemancipated communities, so the future system will issue out of the changed material conditions and ideological outlook of European Jews during the past ten years and in the immediate postwar period.

Some of these changes are obvious, others are less apparent. We can all appreciate, for instance, that the financial resources from which Jewish cultural and educational institutions in Europe formerly drew support have now been cut off. No less significant, however, will be those vast demographic changes that are bound to arise in consequence of the economic transformation of all European countries. Jews tend to settle in industrial centers. At the end of the war, however, many of those centers (e.g., Cologne or Frankfurt) will be found to have been so severely bombed that for some time they may not be able to attract new inhabitants with possibilities of gainful employment. Again, it may well be that heavy industry will be shifted, where feasible, to areas believed to be less vulnerable to aerial warfare. In that case, the distribution of the Jews will inevitably undergo a profound change. What then will be the use of restoring their former cultural and educational institutions on the old basis? Clearly, our problem will be one of redistribution rather than of reconstruction.

Then there is the psychological factor. The thinking of European Jewry has changed profoundly during the past ten years. Men and women who have passed through concentration camps, had their fortunes ruined, their families broken up or murdered, and who

have manned the barricades of Warsaw because they were Jews are apt to think otherwise about their Judaism, its significance, its future, and its needs, than do their philanthropic coreligionists in remote New York.

Let us come down to cases. Take, first, such a large-scale national institution as the French Alliance Israelite Universelle, the archives and resources of which were confiscated by the Nazis when they occupied Paris. In the proper sense of the word, this was a cultural and educational institution, which was concerned with such matters as education among the "backward" Jewish communities of North Africa. Now, the basis of this entire organization was philanthropic, and it may well be that after the war its beneficiaries will be a little tired of philanthropy and will have learned, as did their Polish brethren in the sixties, that their own democratic representation of their interests is far more effective and far less dangerous to themselves than the "diplomatic" sponsorship of the gentlemen of Paris. In that case, the Alliance will have lost much of its former *raison d'être*, and mere reconstruction of it on the old basis will be useless. Thus, reorientation, not reconstruction, will be required to meet the needs.

Practical steps? Here are some things that might be done right here and now

First. All of our national organizations, together with those in unoccupied Europe and in Palestine, might together appoint a commission of Jewish scholars and educators to act as an advisory commission to the United Nations in the administration of Jewish cultural properties after the war. Such a commission would determine the redistribution and reallocation of cultural properties in accordance with emergent needs. It might also act as international trustees of cultural properties formerly owned by communities or organizations now liquidated. In addition, it would assist in the assessment of claims for indemnities in respect to Jewish cultural properties damaged or destroyed.

Second. Under the auspices of such a commission an inquiry

might be conducted into the assets, budgets, administration, and ownership of Jewish cultural and educational institutions as of 1933 or 1939. The object of this inquiry would be to ascertain not only the present use of such institutions, but also the basis upon which they formerly served communities.

Third. Such a commission might appoint a special subcommittee to supervise the presentation of material relating to Jews in textbooks and other media of education used in Axis countries after the war. This would seem to be an obvious requirement in connection with the task of weaning German youth from Nazi indoctrination.

Fourth: Synagogues in the United States might revive the time-honored custom of reserving a certain portion of the weekly "offerings" for the cultural and educational revitalization of European Jewry. In the sixteenth century, it was a not uncommon thing to institute special funds for the ransoming of Jews from the Inquisition. What is required today is a similar fund for the release of European Jewry from the dark night in which it has been enveloped.

These are simple, practical steps. They are not based upon any definitive blueprint. They represent the kind of machinery that can be adapted to any of many possible emergent patterns. They imply a divorce from the old-time ideas of "reconstruction" on the one hand and of undiscerning philanthropic largesse on the other. The Conference on Jewish Relations, a nonpartisan, nonpolitical association of Jewish scholars, educators, and professional men in this country, has recently sponsored the creation of a commission on the lines suggested above. Analogous efforts are also being made in England by the Jewish Historical Society. It is to be hoped that the Jewish community at large and the national Jewish organizations will support this undertaking.

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PROBLEMS OF JEWISH CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE

Arieh Tartakower

I

The fundamental difference between the problems of reconstruction throughout Europe after the present war and their specific application within the limits of Jewish life is more evident in the field of culture and education than in other sections of social life. Great as the destruction and injury is to the cultural and spiritual institutions of European nations, the problem is primarily quantitative in nature. There may be one important exception to this quantitative nature of the problem. That is the re-education of the Germans to qualify them for readmission to the family of nations, as well as the removal of the influence of Nazi ideology in various parts of Europe.

Quite different will be the situation in Jewish life. The most striking but certainly not the only difference will be that of proportions. Just as the entire Jewish property was robbed or stolen by the Nazis and their followers, so was Jewish cultural life in its totality destroyed in the occupied European countries. The Jews were thus the only people in Europe deprived of virtually any possibility of a cultural life, in whatever form it might have manifested itself.

Apart from this, there are a few fundamental differences in the character of the problem as such. Space does not permit the mention of more than three: First, the problem of the enforced illiteracy of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Jewish children who were, during five years of the war, deprived of every possibility of acquiring even the minimum of education.

Second, there is the problem of Jewish children reared in Christian homes and institutions to save them from deportation and death. Their number reaches several thousand, perhaps tens of thou-

sands, especially in France, but also in other countries. This problem is twofold: first, that of inducing foster parents or institutions to return the children to their people and, second, that of eliminating the tragedy from the soul of the child resulting from the artificially induced upheaval in its religious education.

There is a third aspect to the question. How can the child who witnessed and survived the inferno of Jewish life under Nazi domination be converted into a member of human society with a more or less normal attitude not only toward the Germans, but toward all other nations as well? A child who has seen the passive indifference of the surrounding population, and in many cases the active participation in deeds of terror, must inevitably come to the conclusion that all humanity is corrupt and foul. No real cultural reconstruction will be possible, unless this educational problem is solved first.

II

The problems of cultural reconstruction of European Jewry are not of the same nature in the different European countries. European Jewry may from this point of view be subdivided into three categories at least: (1) the Jews in the Western and most of the Central European countries, where a system of Jewish education in the form of a number of Jewish institutions hardly existed, and among whom the process of cultural assimilation was rather advanced; (2) the Jews in Eastern Europe (with the exception of the U.S.S.R.), renowned for their determined Jewish cultural and spiritual life and great network of Jewish educational institutions; and (3) the Jews in the U.S.S.R. who must be separately classified, not only because of the marked peculiarities of their cultural life as already evidenced before the war, but also because the Soviet Union is the only country in Europe that was only partially occupied by the Nazis, and for whom liberation came at an earlier date than it did for other occupied territories.

True, for the Jews of Western Europe the main problem will, on

the one hand, be the reconstruction of important Jewish research and cultural institutions, especially libraries and institutions of Jewish academic learning, and, on the other hand, the reintegration of Jewish children into the educational life of those countries.

In Eastern European countries, especially in Poland and to a certain degree in Rumania and Czechoslovakia, a strong cultural life existed in all its possible forms. To restore this life to its prewar stature will be a tremendous task, complicated not only because of the great number of reforms concerned, but also because of the tragic process of extermination which reduced the Jewish population, especially in Poland, to a fraction of its prewar size. This may automatically provoke the question whether it is worth while to resurrect this ramified machinery for a reduced population, or is it not preferable to seek new ways to satisfy the expected needs of the Jewish population? On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the Jewish cultural problem in almost all these countries was before the war, and may remain so in the future, a problem of cultural autonomy, and cultural minority rights respectively, and that the solution of such problems may be much more difficult after the war if—as may easily happen in view of the expected deportation of German minorities and also in view of the reshaping of Poland's territory—the Jews will remain the only national minority of any significance in all these countries. One additional factor may still be mentioned. Nothing has remained of prewar Jewish economic positions; only a few may possibly be recovered in the future. The mass readjustment for new professions without an intensified process of education can scarcely be envisaged. Very likely, this problem may affect Eastern European Jewry chiefly, since the Jews in Western Europe, in view of their relatively smaller number (even after the war), may meet with less difficulty in resuming their former professions.

Most problematic is the cultural reconstruction of Russian Jewry. It may be considered as fairly certain that, within the limits of the

general reconstruction of the country, the cultural interests of the Jewish population will be taken care of adequately, just as will their economic and social needs; in this connection, more may depend on the tendency of the Jews themselves than on the good will of the Russian authorities, which may be taken for granted. Whether a noteworthy change of Jewish cultural life in the U. S. S. R. may be expected, due to the re-established contact between Russian Jews and the Jewish people throughout the world, remains to be seen.

There is also the problem of the Jews in Bessarabia and the Baltic countries. The *niveau* of Jewish cultural life in these territories, especially in Bessarabia and Lithuania, before the war was not less strong than that of Poland. Should Lithuanian and Bessarabian Jewry simply be incorporated in Jewish life as it exists throughout the Soviet Union? Then, as in the case of Russian Jewry, no prophecy can be made in this connection. However, the possibility of a cultural renaissance in these countries is certainly not excluded.

III

What about the organizational and financial problems of Jewish cultural reconstruction? This problem will, to a very considerable degree, be combined with the problem of the restitution of Jewish property. Libraries and archives stolen by the Nazis will have to be returned (in the case of large Jewish libraries, such as those of Warsaw and Wilno, this may well be possible, since in all probability they were removed to Frankfurt am Main and placed at the disposal of Nazi so-called "Institutes for Judaism"). The same may apply to the buildings and movables of Jewish cultural institutions. On the other hand, it has been suggested that at least part of revindicated Jewish property, whose owners cannot be found after the present war, be turned over to the Jewish people and used to cover the expenses of Jewish cultural reconstruction. However, it is clear that only a fraction of the required budget can be secured in this way. There remain three additional sources from which assistance can

and will be expected; namely, the governments of the respective countries, intergovernmental institutions (especially UNRRA and the newly created United Nations Organization for Education and Cultural Reconstruction), and, last but not least, the Jewish population outside of Europe, especially in this country

There is not much to be said, at this point, about the first two sources. It is clear, or in any case ought to be taken for granted, that the cultural needs of the Jewish population will be taken care of by governmental and intergovernmental agencies just as will the needs of other parts of the population. It may well be advisable to take up these problems now, especially with the governments of Poland and Rumania, and perhaps also with those of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The main problem to be considered at the present moment remains that of assistance to be granted by American Jewry in reconstructing Jewish cultural life in Europe. The role which the Jewish community in this country will have to play in this respect can hardly be overestimated. It may be compared only with the expected role of the Jewish community in Palestine. Palestine, in all likelihood, cannot render considerable financial assistance for Jewish cultural reconstruction in Europe. But it may, for example, by sending editors and writers and leaders of youth movements, by issuing papers, books, and publications play a very great and perhaps even a decisive role in this process. The work done by Palestinian Jews and especially by Jewish soldiers from Palestine during the present war in Libya and Italy and also in a few other countries shows clearly how great the possibilities are in this field.

The position of American Jewry in this respect will be much more difficult. America is regarded more as a source of financial assistance than as a moral, cultural, or educational support. However, not less important will be the assistance in many other forms. There are no Hebrew or Yiddish books in the European countries. Efforts are now being made on the part of the Yiddish Scientific Institute and

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the Hebrew Cultural Organization, and perhaps other organizations also, to prepare shipments of books to be sent to liberated Europe at the first opportunity. The same must be done with regard to prayer books, textbooks, and equipment for schools and other educational and cultural institutions.

Large funds will, of course, be required. Buildings will have to be repaired or reconstructed. Salaries will have to be paid. Many things will have to be secured on the spot. The feeding of school children and restoration of their health will have to be taken care of in very many cases.

IV

The cooperation of American Jewry must not take on the character of philanthropists toward their "poor relations." It ought to be given in the same spirit of human and national solidarity which is the outstanding feature of the role of Palestine Jewry in the present war. Investigators will have to be sent to Europe to ascertain together with representatives of European Jewry the character and the scope of the work to be done. Proper candidates will have to be found in this country and sent to Europe for several years, they should be chosen primarily from among refugees and recent immigrants. Experience with these elements during the last war were not always the best, but this may have been due more to insufficient preparation than to any intrinsic faults of their own. But even American-born or educated candidates may be very useful. New methods will have to be found and the contribution of American Jews with their practical sense coupled with a thorough sociological preparation may be of great importance in this process of reorganization.

Details can hardly be fixed at the present moment. There are too many unknown factors to be taken into consideration: the number of European Jews, the number of children among them, their physical and mental condition after the war. These may be cited as a few rather important examples. Representatives of American Jewry are

now in Europe. They are mainly on the battlefields, but they also come in contact with the Jewish population and will come in closer contact in the very near future. It is of primary importance to have as an example the American Jewish soldiers instructed regarding their attitude toward European Jews in general and the moral and cultural help to be granted to them. Provisional courses, libraries, lectures, schools organized by soldiers are, as far as their immediate result is concerned, of greater importance than the work done by even more qualified civilians.

Those who are being sent to Europe to investigate the existing needs and possibilities in the field of relief and rehabilitation should include experts in the field of culture and education. In the field of relief to children, educational and spiritual problems can hardly be separated from problems of immediate physical relief. But even for the older generation in Europe the danger of moral breakdown after the inferno of Nazi domination is too great and too imminent to be disregarded in the plans that are already under way.

Finally, problems of culture and education must be taken into consideration in whatever is now being done to prepare social workers for Europe. Unfortunately, very little is being done in this field at the present moment. The Jewish organizations for culture and education in this country must have at least some of their members prepared for this work.

The program as outlined roughly in the present article must begin as soon as possible. It deserves to be taken up by the most competent persons among us. Out of the realization of the tremendous duties resting upon American Jewry in this field may arise an effort commensurable, at least to a certain degree, with the magnitude of the problem and the unique character of its expected solution.

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Part II. What Can Be Done—The Responsibility of the General Community

THE ROLE OF JUDAISM IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Robert Gordis

The end of this global conflict will mark perhaps the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history, with one quarter of the Jewish people, some four million souls, dead as a result of the cold-blooded Nazi program of extermination. It may therefore be doubted whether there is any future role in the world for the complex of values, insights, and practices, called Judaism, that were evolved by the Jewish people through its long historic experience. To maintain that a small, weak people, after being decimated, can contribute creatively to the postwar world may well seem an extreme example of collective megalomania.

Nonetheless, the history of culture bears testimony to the fact that there is no necessary correlation between size and spiritual significance. The two mightiest cultural legacies of the ancient world, that of Greece and Israel, were the achievements of small, politically insignificant peoples, who never succeeded in achieving the monolithic mass empires so fashionable with ancient and modern dictators. Jewish history in particular is replete with instances of great creations emerging out of periods of acute catastrophe.

It is therefore not ruled out that even a badly battered Israel may still have a significant contribution to make to the world of tomorrow. Because so many of the ideals of Judaism are shared by Christianity, it is clear that this contribution will be made by Jews not in isolation but rather in cooperation with their Christian fellow citizens. The frightful carnage of the Second World War can be justified only if it proves to be a steppingstone toward the fulfillment of the highest ideals of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The nature of this tradition, however, is often misunderstood. Liberals within Judaism, perhaps even more than within Christianity, often tend to regard the teachings of both elements in the tradition as virtually identical. They overlook the fact that even a literal translation of a text means a new incarnation, while a new phrasing of an idea may bear only a partial resemblance to the original. Modern civilization, which has been molded by Christianity, has by that token learned much from Judaism. But even early Christianity itself is no mere restatement of Pharisaic Judaism. The early Christian community was a group that had affinities both with the Pharisees and with the Essenes, who were themselves a pietistic offshoot of Pharisaism with marked ascetic tendencies. But it was not identical with either. Christianity accepted much of normative Judaism, to be sure, but there was much that it rejected or ignored or reinterpreted. These elements represent the area of difference between the two components of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Now it is noteworthy that precisely in this area, where the traditional Christian outlook and the Jewish viewpoint do not coincide, many of the basic problems of the world are to be sought. In bringing its specific insights to bear on these issues, Judaism still has its own contribution to make, beyond those attitudes it holds in common with Christianity. We may briefly indicate three such problems of the contemporary world—the future of democracy, international peace, and intergroup relations. Discussion of other significant attitudes of Judaism that have been imperfectly understood, such as its approach to family morality and the moral discipline of law, must be deferred for another occasion.

Perhaps the most critical question the world must answer is the *future of democracy*. The present war is being fought by the United Nations so that the democratic ideal may have one more chance, perhaps the very last, to fulfill its promise. Totalitarianism did not arise merely because of the innate depravity of human nature. If the past is any clue, we are certain to face a new upsurge of fascist propa-

ganda in the difficult readjustment period after the war, if we seek to content ourselves with the mere preservation of democratic forms. Upon the foundation of political freedom, a democratic world must build the edifice of security. Men must never again be faced with the agonizing alternatives of freedom and security. They must be given the opportunity of achieving both.

The problem is, however, more easily stated than solved. Economic security for the people requires a program of public works and government control which affects not only the economic sphere, but indirectly other elements of man's being. Unfortunately, the exercise of power always breeds the lust for more power, and the menace of the all-powerful state is more than a figment of the imagination conjured up by reactionaries. A determined effort to build economic security through a broad program of social legislation must be coupled with an equally vigilant determination to resist encroachments upon the rights of individuals and minorities.

To achieve this goal of balancing freedom and security is not easy. It will require the mobilization of all our spiritual resources. Here Judaism has several contributions to make. The first lies in the spirit motivating the drive for social progress. Jewish tradition has always stressed justice as the basis of society, but the prophets of Israel were no class agitators or plebeian tribunes. If social justice is to be achieved on a broad basis of unity rather than class conflict, we need to recapture the prophetic conviction that justice is the basic law of the universe binding on *all* men, and that its achievement is the fulfillment of the will of God. In Isaiah's words, "The Lord of Hosts is exalted through justice and God the Holy One sanctified through righteousness."

The second contribution is the stress which Judaism, in common with Christianity, places upon the inviolability of the individual soul, whose rights are inalienable since they derive from its own nature, or, as religion puts it, from its Maker. Thus the Judeo-Christian tradition is likely to prove a great defense against the

dangerous delusion that the state is more important than the individual, or that the individual exists for the state.

The third great contribution which is more uniquely characteristic of Judaism is closely linked to the second. All too often, the insistence of religion upon the individual soul has been isolated from the context of social action, with the result that it has been utilized to oppose progress. In many circles, religion is therefore dismissed as a rationale for reaction, or, in the now classic phrase, as an opiate for the people. Biblical religion, however, cannot fairly be charged with this tragic error. The social legislation of the Pentateuch attempted to deal constructively with the rights of the underprivileged, the prevention of monopoly, and the relief and elimination of poverty. Such institutions as the Sabbath rest for slaves, the year of release, the jubilee, taxation for relief of the poor, and various housing and sanitary regulations represented a concrete approach to social problems. This was maintained and extended in the monumental legislation of the Talmud to include the growing rights of women, the protection of children, and the position of free labor.

It is now all but universally admitted that the grossest inequalities of the social order must be adjusted largely through government action. But the stress upon the rights of the individual and the importance of the spiritual and ethical education of men remains the supremely important task of religion. These are not two distinct functions, but two inseparable aspects of the same goal. Judaism, which has never forgotten the cry of social justice, is therefore in the best position to urge the claim of individual freedom.

To solve the conflict between the demands of security and the ideal of freedom, increasing numbers of social students are beginning to realize that a monolithic economic structure must be avoided. What is required is an economy in which free private enterprise will exist side by side with government regulation of important industries and public ownership of the most fundamental services. Many feel that the far-flung cooperative movement, because of its voluntary

character, will prove highly valuable. The total economic control imposed by communism seems inseparable from the uniformity of outlook and the suppression of freedom of thought which characterize the Soviet Union, even today when it is allied with the Western democracies.

In this connection, the new Jewish homeland being created in Palestine in the face of great obstacles is of tremendous significance. As indicated in Dr. Berkson's article, the new colonies are a striking demonstration of the possibility of economic mutuality going hand in hand with sturdy intellectual freedom and uncompromising individuality of outlook. One of the first institutions created by the Zionists was the Jewish National Fund, which is the land-purchasing agency for the Jewish people in Palestine and owns today over 50,000 acres. What is important is the spirit pervading its activities which are carried on both vis-à-vis the Arabs and within the Jewish community. As is well known, Jewish purchasers pay prices that are many times higher than the value of the land. Nonetheless, the J.N.F. makes available to Arabs who are dispossessed by such purchases other land should they wish to continue as farmers. Most important of all is the fact that the J.N.F. land can never be sold but only leased, and that only to families prepared to work the soil themselves. The land remains the inalienable property of the Jewish people—a remarkable and unique instance of social idealism and intergroup justice in action.

Thus both in theory and in practice Judaism has a contribution to make to the future of democracy. But before democracy can fulfill its destiny, mankind must meet the bloody threat of *nationalism*, which paradoxically has grown in violence and belligerence in a world increasingly interdependent economically and culturally. In our own day we have witnessed the rebirth of the true spirit of religion in the devoted priests, ministers, and laymen of Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany and Scandinavia who alone dared to

oppose the Nazi juggernaut. Yet a religious concept of nationalism still remains a *desideratum*.

It is noteworthy that Judaism, so often charged with particularism and a lack of universalism, has elaborated an attitude toward group loyalties which is of value today. The dichotomy between universalism and particularism is a purely artificial invention of theologians. In the Hebrew prophets, who represent the quintessence of the Jewish spirit, it does not exist.

It is the sheerest confusion to equate their nationalism with fascism, which represents national loyalty at the acme of its power and the nadir of its degradation. Fascism is the great curse of the twentieth century. To escape it, many men of good will have been led to embrace the opposite ideal of cosmopolitanism. They dream of a world language (usually their own), a single culture, one religion (if any), and a world state.

This doctrine, which takes countless forms, has a superficial attractiveness that disappears upon mature consideration. The ideal of uniformity is neither practical nor worth while. The peace treaties at the end of the First World War created a dozen new national states in Europe; and the Soviet Union, by its liberal policy regarding ethnic minorities, has encouraged the emergence of national consciousness among countless groups previously suppressed in Czarist Russia.

What solution is there in this dilemma between the Scylla of destructive nationalism and the Charybdis of colorless cosmopolitanism? The answer was indicated by the Prophets of Israel who looked forward not to the elimination but to the moralization of nations. Amos, the Hebrew prophet, castigated Moab for its cruelty to Edom and did not spare his own people in condemning their moral weaknesses. The Prophet expected nations to maintain their specific national character, but to govern their mutual relations by the standards of justice, thus achieving international peace.

The famous vision of world peace in Isaiah (Chap. 2) and Micah (Chap. 4) has become so familiar as to lose its effect for most readers today, who regard it as an idyllic dream for a distant future. Actually, it makes two basic contributions to the technique of world peace: first, that *nations* will continue to exist in the future, and, second, that the nations must accept a higher *law* as binding upon them in their relations with one another.

Judaism, in brief, regards national loyalty not as an unfortunate accident, but as a potential source of creative and cooperative achievement for humanity. It therefore serves to underscore a religious approach to the problem of world peace. Religion must cease to be the handmaiden of national chauvinism on the one hand, or pretend that group loyalties and interests are nonexistent or baneful. It must insist that nationalism be cultural in content and ethical in expression, being rooted in the fundamental brotherhood of men. In stressing these truths, Judaism can draw upon the rich fund of insights available in its tradition as almost nowhere else.

One more critical problem faces the democratic state—*group relations* within the nation itself. It is undeniable that organized religion during many periods of its history has been guilty of cruel persecution for conscience's sake. In our own day, religious and pseudoreligious differences are being used as the spearheads of great movements of intolerance.

The early elimination of religion is generally recognized as unlikely of success. Hence, tolerance is frequently urged on the score that all religions are alike or at least of equal value. This admission comes easiest to those who have no deep personal loyalty to any particular religious faith. The pious Catholic, the convinced Protestant, or the fervent Jew who is prepared to bring sacrifices for his tradition will necessarily regard his faith as being more than merely "as good as" another. The so-called liberal cults that preach the equal value of all religions are numerically insignificant and do not come to grips with the real problem of building religious tolerance

What is required is a formula for retaining fullhearted loyalty to one's tradition and yet finding room for the parallel existence of other interpretations of reality. It is a matter of record that the great historical faiths in the past did not evolve a philosophy of tolerance. Christianity and Mohammedanism each claimed to be the sole highway to salvation, generally consigning all nonbelievers to damnation.

Only traditional Judaism, which did not yield an inch in its conviction that it was the true religion, did include other faiths within its scheme of things. In the Rabbinic period, this great step was taken with the elaboration of the conception of the Noachide Laws. According to the rabbis, there are great religious and moral duties incumbent upon the non-Jew, the fulfillment of which makes him worthy of salvation on a par with the Israelite who has observed the entire Law, which is binding upon him because he is a member of the priest-people. These foundations of civilization include abstinence from idolatry and blasphemy, from murder and sexual immorality and theft, and eating a limb of a living animal, besides the positive obligation to establish a government of law and order. Beyond these fundamentals, the non-Jew was free to maintain whatever beliefs or practices he preferred. This far-reaching attitude, combining fervent attachment to one's own faith and a sympathetic understanding of others, is reflected in Maimonides's noble judgment on Christianity and Mohammedanism from whose intolerance he himself had suffered: "Thanks to these new religions, the world has been filled with the words of the Law and the Commandments, and these words have now been spread to the farthest islands and the outermost nations." This point of view was possible because Jewish teachers in the Talmudic period had recognized that religious duties fell into two classes: (a) the ritual enactments, and (b) the ethical laws, to which the ritual is expected to minister. It must not be forgotten that this distinction between the kernel of religion and the forms and rites in which it is

embodied stemmed from men who did not dismiss the rites as secondary or unimportant, but, on the contrary, loved each element of their traditional way of life.

The Talmudic sages were followed by the medieval Jewish philosophers beginning with Saadia in the tenth century, who divided the commandments in Judaism into (a) those dictated by *human* reason and hence binding upon all men and (b) those originating in *divine revelation* and binding upon Israel alone.

To restate these ideas in modern terms, all men must share a common body of primary ideals regarding their relationship to each other and the world. But the rites in which they express their allegiance to them and the secondary elements of their world view will differ in character and even in value, being the products of the historic experience of their respective groups. Each man will naturally love the forms of ancestral piety nearest to him, but that must and need not deprive him of a sense of comradeship with his fellows.

Basically these represent the special contribution Judaism can make to postwar reconstruction. For it can help teach men how to achieve the necessary balance between social progress and individual freedom, between world cooperation and national loyalties, and between religious fervor and intergroup understanding.

In addition to this, Judaism stands shoulder to shoulder with Christianity in furthering those humanitarian ideals which are the heart of the democratic faith. The quest may be arduous and long, but success is assured, if men go forward together.

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JEWISH PALESTINE IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

Isaac B. Berkson

The tendency today is to discuss the place of Palestine in the postwar world principally from the point of view of the refugee problem. This aspect of the problem is urgent, and from the short-range point of view may be said to be the most important. Palestine *can* make a greater contribution in solving the problem of the Jewish refugees than any other single country. Nevertheless, from the long-range point of view, there are other equally important purposes that a Jewish Palestine can serve. The full part that Palestine can play in the reconstruction of Jewish life in the postwar world can be properly understood only in the light of the Zionist analysis of the Jewish problem.

Zionism and the Jewish problem. The goal of Zionism, as formulated by the First Zionist Congress which met in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, is: "To establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." This purpose received the approval of the British Government in the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, which stated that: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"; adding the proviso, "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The most recent official statement of the Zionist aspiration is contained in the Biltmore Resolution adopted by an Extraordinary Zionist Conference in New York City on May 11, 1942. This calls for "the fulfillment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which, recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, was to afford them the opportunity . . . to found there a Jewish Commonwealth."

These three pronouncements—the Basle Program, the Balfour

Declaration, and the Biltmore Resolution—have the identical aim of providing a home for the Jewish people in their ancient land, to which Jews who so choose may return to live in freedom and security. The Zionist program arose as a protest against the various types of disabilities and persecutions Jews continued to suffer even at the dawn of the twentieth century. Stated in more positive terms, the Zionist program embodies a demand for genuine equality—for Jews as individuals and for the Jewish people to develop a Jewish life in Palestine in harmony with its traditions and ideals.

As more fully indicated by other contributors to this issue, during medieval times, despite many discriminations, the Jews could maintain an autonomous organization and a distinctive Jewish life: the Jewish community was ruled by Jewish law and its cultural life was nourished by religious and educational institutions. The rise of the modern democratic state made impossible the continuance of the distinctive Jewish way of life in any genuine sense. Theoretically based on the rights of the individual, the democratic state was erected on the foundation of the national history, language, and legal system of each people. Inevitably, this meant the end of Jewish legal and cultural autonomy and a reduction of the Jewish association to matters of belief and practice; indeed, the demands of the modern state made a genuine fulfillment of the Jewish religion impossible, since traditional Judaism required a basis in Jewish law, a background of Hebrew literature, and the support of a system of Hebrew education. It is of the essence of the Zionist analysis to point out that this denial of Jewish autonomy in the modern state was not the result of any arbitrary decision unfriendly to the Jews, but resulted from the need of maintaining a homogeneous culture and education as the basis for the national life.

Zionists believe that their analysis of the European situation has proved only too tragically correct in the period since the First World War; and they hold that after this war the basic elements of the Jewish problem will still remain unsolved. However complete the

victory of the United Nations will be, a Jewish homeland in Palestine will be indispensable, with three great functions to perform: (1) to serve as a Jewish spiritual and cultural center, (2) to make a contribution to the solution of anti-Semitism; (3) to provide a haven for refugees.

Palestine as a Jewish spiritual and cultural center. If the Jewish cultural and religious tradition is to be carried forward, a center of Jewish life is needed where Jews can organize their own social forms, speak a language which they choose, and educate their children in the traditions which they hold sacred. Palestine, for historical reasons, is the only place where such a cultural and spiritual center in the full sense of the term could be developed. It would offer a spiritual haven for those Jews who wish to live a full Jewish life, speaking in Hebrew, studying Jewish literature, keeping the Sabbath and the holidays, and practising the religious precepts in a congenial environment. That this is one of the main functions of Zionism is demonstrated by the conspicuous cultural achievements of Jewish Palestine—the resurrection of Hebrew as a spoken language, the renaissance of Hebrew literature, the establishment of the Hebrew University, and many another manifestation of a revitalized national culture, such as the revival of the communal observance of the Sabbath and various festivals. The existence of a flourishing center of the national culture would not only serve the Jews who live in Palestine, but would exercise a strengthening influence on the attenuated forms of Judaism and Jewish life still possible in each country, in conformity with its own conditions.

Palestine as an answer to anti-Semitism Though obviously incompatible in theory with democracy, anti-Semitism evidently is not easily uprooted even in the democratic countries. Despite the genuine belief of the majority of the American people in equality of rights without reference to race, color, and creed, anti-Semitism has been on the increase here in recent decades. We cannot complacently explain this away by reference to Nazi propaganda, for

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the quotas in our universities, discrimination against Jews in employment, and restrictions of hotel accommodations to "selective clientele" existed long before the rise of fascism in Europe.

The degree and forms of discrimination practised in the United States may seem unimportant in comparison with the persecution that Jews have experienced throughout the world. But psychologically speaking the subtler forms of anti-Semitism may be cruel enough. They may have a lasting effect on the personality of youth, leading possibly to serious psychic maladjustment, and may bring about a sense of inferiority, cynicism, or rebellion. For some of the victims of these subtler effects of anti-Semitism Palestine may offer a release from psychological tension, since in Palestine Jews can feel themselves as fully acceptable persons. However, such a purpose Palestine can serve only for comparatively few. For the far larger number of Jews who do not return to Palestine, Zionism as a philosophy and conception of Jewish life may provide morale enhancing and character integrating values, since it involves self-knowledge and self-respect and a sense of participation in the destinies and creative achievements of the Jewish people.

A permanent home for the refugees. Palestine thus has a contribution to make in solving the problem of anti-Semitism which might be called the problem of "potential refugees." It also has an important function to perform for those who are already refugees, those who have not been able to, or have not been permitted to, adjust themselves in the country where they have found temporary shelter, and those who will find it impossible to readjust themselves in their home countries after the war. During the last dozen years Palestine has demonstrated its ability to absorb a large number of refugees fleeing from the threat of fascism in Central Europe and economic attrition in Eastern Europe.

Despite the many restrictions, Palestine took care of over 250,000 Jews, counting both legal and illegal entrants during the decade from 1933 to 1943. Thus, despite its relatively tiny size, it absorbed

more Jewish refugees than any other country in the world, including the United States—the second largest haven for Jewish refugees—which permitted some 165,000 Jews to enter in the same decade. The Jewish refugees have adjusted themselves well to Palestine, particularly the younger people who have been helped to rebuild their lives by the Youth Aliyah organization under the remarkable Henrietta Szold. A significant feature in the Palestine situation is the fact that the *Yishuv*, as the Jewish community of Palestine is known, welcomes the refugees; the *Histadruth* (Labor Federation) and the *Vaad Leumi* (Jewish National Council) have expended much effort in assisting the refugees to become a useful and organic part of Jewish Palestine.

The spirit with which the Jewish community welcomes the refugees is in marked contrast with the attitude toward them in other countries. The investigation committees of every nation are ready to send the Jews everywhere except where they are wanted and needed, namely, Palestine. As to the desire of the Jews to go there, Mr David Schweitzer of the American Hias-Ica Emigration Association (Hicem), the largest non-Zionist Jewish emigration agency, recently declared: "Jews of Europe do not engage in debates for or against Palestine, but only think of possibilities of reaching it"

The absorptive capacity of Palestine. The question remains whether Palestine can absorb a large number of immigrants. Past experience indicates that it can. Twenty-five years ago cynical critics declared: "There isn't enough room in Palestine to swing a cat." In the meantime the Jewish population has grown from about 85,000 (in 1922) to 560,000. The remarkable thing is that in this period the Arab population has grown along with the Jewish population from an estimated 650,000 to approximately 1,100,000 today. The great increase in population has been made possible by the improvements wrought by the Jews in Palestine; e.g., reclamation of waste areas, introduction of scientific agriculture, and expansion of industry and commerce, and by the reduction of the death

rate among the Arabs due to better hygienic and economic conditions that have accompanied Jewish immigration.

The future economic development of Palestine depends upon a great many factors, including the energy and enterprise of the present inhabitants and future immigrants, political and economic conditions in the Near East, and the general level of world prosperity. It is generally recognized today that the economic importance of Palestine, which stands at the juncture of three continents, is increasing. Land, sea, and air transportation moving from east to west, and north to south, are making it an important center of international commerce. Arnold J. Toynbee, in the *Survey of International Affairs* of 1934, describes Palestine as holding "a key position in the twentieth century world" between the East and the West " . . . not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as the *entre-pôt* between Europe and the Americas" in the nineteenth. Palestine has also developed important industries; during the war it has surged forward as the major industrial country in the Near East and is becoming a significant factor in the economic and social revival of this whole area.

It is not possible to make any precise calculation of the potential absorptive capacity of Palestine in the near future. But all authorities agree that it is capable of absorbing a large immigration. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk of the United States Department of Agriculture, renowned expert in soil conservation, states in his recent book, *Palestine: Land of Promise*, that four million new immigrants could be absorbed into Palestine and Transjordan. His calculation presupposes the full utilization of Palestine's natural resources and the creation of a Jordan Valley Authority modeled after our own Tennessee Valley Authority. F. Lawrence Babcock, who has recently made a firsthand study of the Near East situation, suggests in the October 1944 issue of *Fortune* that, on the basis of conservative calculations, Palestine will be able to absorb from 400,000 to 800,000

new immigrants during the next ten-year period, over and above the expected natural increase of the present population.

These calculations of the absorptive capacity of Palestine make provision for the native Arab population and the large natural increase that may be expected. The Jewish Commonwealth proposal assumes the continued development of the Arab people in Palestine. It proposes not only to cooperate with the existing population but to help them achieve a higher economic level and higher standards in public education and public health. The Zionist conception of the Jewish Commonwealth implies complete equality for all individuals—Arabs and Jews alike—and assumes cultural equality for the two peoples: Arabic as well as Hebrew would be recognized as an official language and there would be an Arab school system parallel to the Hebrew school system.

As is well known, there are great political difficulties involved in the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine; despite economic advantages the Arab political leaders have steadily opposed Jewish immigration and land purchases, and the creation of the Jewish home. Palestine is only a tiny area of ten thousand square miles in a vast realm of more than two million square miles dominated by Arabs. Nevertheless, they regard it as a Moslem land and have continuously refused to share government with the Jews, let alone to agree to Jewish predominance. Whatever may be the solution of the political question, which is not the subject of this article, it is clear that there are no inherent economic difficulties in making Palestine a great center of Jewish life that would provide a focus for religious, spiritual, and cultural aspirations and at the same time make a major contribution to the solution of the refugee problem.

Palestine, an indispensable factor in the solution of the Jewish problem. Needless to say, Zionism does not envisage an evacuation of Jews from all over the world to Palestine. There are, perhaps,

some extremists who entertain such a notion, but this represents neither the desire of the Jews nor the potentialities of Palestine. Moreover, no Jews should be forced to go to Palestine; Zionists are united with all other Jews in insisting on equal rights for Jews in every country. What Zionism proposes is that the doors of Palestine be kept open so that all Jews who need to, or who choose to, may find there a haven of refuge, where they may live the type of life that is for them spiritually and culturally most satisfying, and where they will be liberated from the disabilities and suppressions attaching to the status of a minority, even a "tolerated" minority. While not a *total* solution of the Jewish problem, Zionism may be regarded as an *indispensable* factor in any solution, in the sense that no real attack on the Jewish problem, in its spiritual and material phases, can be made without a Jewish Palestine. Moreover, the solution which it contemplates might well be called an *integrated* solution of the Jewish problem, since it aims to create unified personalities, to satisfy at once material needs and spiritual strivings.

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ANTI-SEMITISM

Nathan Reich

The age-old phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which for a time appeared to dissolve under the influence of a liberal democratic philosophy of life, has staged an amazing recovery in the last two decades. The focal point of the comeback is, of course, the Third Reich. The last decade witnessed the almost unparalleled spectacle of a government representing 80,000,000 of western people declaring war first on a helpless minority of 600,000 German Jews and then carrying this war to Jewish communities all over the world,

culminating in the physical destruction of three to four million helpless Jews. Simultaneously a systematic anti-Semitic propaganda campaign sponsored and financed by Germany spread to the four corners of the world for the purpose of undermining the status of those Jewish communities beyond the reach of the Nazi might. As a result, anti-Semitism (which has enjoyed a sporadic existence for centuries) has attained a level of theoretical and organizational solidity which threatens not only the continued existence of the Jews themselves, but comes in profound conflict with the very foundations of the liberal democratic way of life, based on the rights of the individual regardless of religious and racial origin.

Anti-Semitism is a social phenomenon and represents a special aspect of the general problem of social behavior and group conflict. Theories of anti-Semitism range from the almost fatalistic psychological theory of the irrational, irreducible hate factor to the various rational explanations in terms of religion, race, nationalism, or other rationally conceived and identifiable factors operating in human life.

With the popularization of the Marxian economic interpretation of history there is a tendency to apply the tenets of that theory to the problem of anti-Semitism to the complete neglect of other factors. In the light of this doctrine anti-Semitism is variously described as the expression of envy felt by the poor Gentile population for "Jewish" wealth; as the reflection of competition for jobs between Jewish and non-Jewish applicants; as the expression of resentment against the "undue" Jewish concentration in certain well-paid professions and important branches of trade; as a defense mechanism of the non-Jewish population against the commercial keenness and general economic aggressiveness exhibited by Jews; as an expression of annoyance with the Jewish preference for urban white-collar and other "light" occupations; as the expression of antagonism generated by the "sharp" practices of Jewish merchants; and finally as the result of a conscious attempt at fanning the flames of anti-

Semitism on the part of "capitalists" in order to divert the attention of the "masses" from their exploiters, and to direct mass discontent to the relatively "safe" channels of Jew hatred.

This economic theory of anti-Semitism suffers from the shortcomings of the economic interpretation of history. It is simply inadequate. It does not explain all the manifestations of anti-Semitism. A few illustrations may reveal the failure of fitting the phenomenon of anti-Semitism into the economic straightjacket. It is, for instance, well known that for centuries the Jews enjoyed legal equality in the Roman Empire, and that the first discriminatory legislation was introduced only with the advent of Christian domination under Constantine.¹ Yet during that period there had been no basic changes either in the general economic structure or in the economic conditions under which the Jews lived and worked. It is also generally observed that in spite of similarity of economic conditions in Christian and Islamic countries during certain periods the latter have on the whole shown a more tolerant attitude toward their Jewish communities.² Yet, while these facts point to organized Christianity as the instigator of anti-Jewish measures, it is also true that the Church counseled moderation in times when rulers and populace were bent upon the physical destruction of the Jew. Furthermore, anti-Semitism today was elevated to the status of a religion by National Socialism—itself tinged with a strong anti-Christian bias.

During the Middle Ages, it is true, the flames of anti-Semitism were continually fed by charges that the Jews were usurers, parasites, and a menace to economic welfare; and the recurrent outbursts of popular feeling inspired by envy and greed were frequently used as a convenient method of transferring Jewish property into the hands of non-Jews. Incontestible as these facts are, the question still remains regarding the extent to which these charges were rationalizations of rather than reasons for such action. The Lombards too

¹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ten vols (Berlin, 1928-1935), vol 11, p 975

² Salo W Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 3 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), vol. 1, p 315 ff

were engaged in large-scale usury and while history records flare-ups of popular feeling against them, such occasional antagonism never acquired the depth and persistency of the anti-Jewish movement. While the looting of Jewish property during the Crusades was undoubtedly motivated by economic greed, it is significant that this greed was most easily aroused against Jewish property. Obviously, behind the *facade of economic motivation* there must have been a residuum of other motives which alone gave free play to the contributory economic motive.

Similarly inadequate are some of the other "economic" causes. For centuries the charge was repeatedly made that Jews engage in "unproductive" occupations, and that the cause of anti-Jewishness resides in this economic parasitism. Yet when, as a result of political emancipation and industrial revolution, Jews promptly availed themselves of the widening area of economic opportunity and rapidly began diversifying their economic structure, achieving a measure of material success at least equal to that obtained by any other group, the charge was promptly heard that it is precisely their economic success and their desire to penetrate all economic avenues that generate hostility toward them.

Certainly the full fury of National Socialism against Jews cannot be reduced to economic terms. It is true that many adherents were lured into the Hitler camp by the prospect of occupying the economic posts vacated by the ousted Jews. Yet were Hitler guided by purely economic considerations he would have listened to Schacht and not to Streicher.

Similarly, no noticeable economic change has occurred in Italian economy or in the economic position of Italian Jewry that could serve as an explanation for Mussolini's transition from his frequently expressed philo-Semitism to the policy of Hitlerian racialism.

It is thus fair to conclude that anti-Semitism is a many-headed creature. It has been practised in so many quarters, under so many different groups, and has been motivated by so many frequently

contradictory motives that an attempt to fit the facts into one single rational formula does violence to the facts or to the doctrine

The persistence of Gentile-Jewish antagonism, no matter how variously rationalized, points to the irrational basis of anti-Semitism. It springs from the same irrational motives which have been the source of intergroup conflict since the dawn of history. It is the manifestation of antagonism displayed by the dominant group against the "alien," the nonconformist in their midst. Human history could be written in terms of conflict between the homogeneous and heterogeneous, the familiar and the strange. The Jew has everywhere remained an identifiable minority. The antagonism displayed toward Jews is thus simply a special manifestation of the age-long phenomenon of xenophobia. If there appears to be a difference between the degree of hostility shown to non-Jewish minorities as compared with that displayed toward the Jewish minority, it is due to the fact that the cumulative effect of the conflict between the Gentile peoples and the universal and eternal Jewish minority has transformed a quantitative into what seems to some a qualitative difference. Anti-Semitism is simply antagonism toward a minority in perpetuum.

The irrational basis of anti-Semitism, however, does not imply that the latter is devoid of its rational aspects. While its basis is irrational, the purpose and technique of any particular anti-Semitic movement come within the sphere of rationality. In the Middle Ages, when religion swayed men's thoughts and action, the cause of anti-Semitism was interpreted to reside in the religious conflict between Christianity and Judaism and conversion was held out as the price for equality. Later, when nationalism began swaying men's thinking and feeling, national and linguistic differences were held to account for Gentile-Jewish animosity and complete national assimilation was demanded as the price of Jewish emancipation. More recently, the racial philosophy of Nazism pointed to the basic incompatibility between the Jewish and Aryan races and demanded

the physical extirpation of the Jews as the logical solution of the problem.

It is within this sphere of the purposive and rational expression of the elemental and irrational Judophobia that the relevance of the economic factor resides. Economics—dealing with the most important task of providing a livelihood—is of central significance in the business of life. Economic activity has always absorbed the bulk of human energy. It is, therefore, obvious that the economic factor could not but exert a most powerful influence in shaping Gentile-Jewish relations throughout the Diaspora. The understanding of economic conditions may frequently throw light on the extent, form, and intensity of Gentile-Jewish antagonism. Favorable economic conditions helped to counteract the “natural” antagonism and keep it within bounds of some tolerable *modus vivendi*, while unfavorable economic factors frequently fanned this antagonism to the white heat of active discrimination, expulsion, or even physical extermination of the Jewish minority.

The historical experience of the Jews offers many instances which illustrate the role played by the economic factor in the shaping of Gentile-Jewish relations. In the early Middle Ages, Jews were among the leading carriers of international trade. On the other hand, the late Middle Ages witnessed a gradual rise of native merchant classes who succeeded in wresting commercial control from the Jews. The latter were gradually relegated to petty moneylending and petty trade. In the face of declining economic significance of the Jews their political and social status deteriorated. The economic significance of the Jews, which acted for a time as a mitigating factor offsetting the forces of distrust and hostility, ceased to operate as soon as native merchants moved into the position hitherto occupied by Jews. The reason for tolerating “the alien” disappeared or declined in cogency. Hence the much harsher treatment of the Jews in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Instances when nations encouraged the influx of alien groups when needed and developed

resentment and opposition against them, once the invited group had fulfilled its special function, are not confined to Jews. That the reaction against the Jewish minority has invariably been more severe and frequently resulted in destruction of life or expulsion is simply due to the fact that, in the case of Jews who differed from the majority in religion, racial origin, and frequently in language and garb, the degree of "alienness" is much greater.

While the pioneering role of Jews in the development of commerce earned the Jews a measure of tolerance in some respects, their overwhelming concentration on commercial occupations frequently added fuel to the latent Gentile-Jewish antagonism. It is no mere coincidence that the political emancipation of Jews is associated with the period of industrial and commercial revolutions of the nineteenth century, which assigned to commerce and the bearers of its function a very high place in the scale of social valuation. Whatever is true of commerce is true even to a larger extent of money-lending, and the resulting hostile attitude toward this form of economic activity could not but intensify the ill will toward a religious and cultural minority which for a variety of reasons came to be associated with money trade.

Jewish concentration in commerce and money trade affected Gentile-Jewish relations from still another angle. The main meeting ground of Jews and non-Jews was the market place. In this highly competitive area of bargaining, Jews and non-Jews met in the role of economic combatants—a circumstance which undoubtedly accentuated the common feeling of distrust toward an alien minority. That the identification of the Jew with the merchant was an important ingredient in Gentile-Jewish relationship may be inferred from the greater frequency and greater ease with which anti-Semitic outbursts were aroused in agricultural countries in the East where the Jews for a time actually monopolized trade than in the more industrialized West where Jews formed only a minority in a predominantly native merchant class. This may help to explain why

anti-Semitic agitation has been less successful in Anglo-Saxon countries than in Eastern Europe.

The importance of the economic factor is also evidenced to a certain degree by the relationship between the intensity of anti-Semitism and the degree of economic welfare. The Jewish historian, Menes, taking Germany under observation, attempted to establish a perfect correlation between the phase of the business cycle and the degree of anti-Semitic activity. According to this writer the upward phase of the business cycle is accompanied by relative good will between Jews and Gentiles, while the years of the downward cyclical phase are marked by a deterioration of Gentile-Jewish relations. In the United States a study of classified employment advertisements undertaken by the American Jewish Congress revealed an increase in notices calling for Christian help during the recent years of depression. The American economist, Selig Perlman, expressed a similar idea in pointing out that the Jew is a marginal employee, among the last to be employed during the expanding phase of economy and among the first to be left out in a period of contracting economy. True as these generalizations are, they refer merely to the economic consequences rather than economic causes of anti-Semitism. They rather confirm the thesis that anti-Semitism represents a deep-seated, irrationally motivated state of xenophobia which may remain latent and relatively innocuous in periods of well-being and social tranquillity but can, under the guise of any rational facade, easily assume forms of active discrimination and hostility in times of strain and stress.

The elimination of anti-Semitism is part of the general and painfully slow civilizing process which has raised man from primitive tribalism to the level of a rational human being. It depends on the gradual recognition of cultural differentiation as an asset rather than a liability. The successful elimination of anti-Semitism is intimately linked with the general ascendancy of the democratic idea of basic equality of individuals as well as groups, and their right to pursue

their own ideas and cultivate their own loyalties within the broad framework of the coming social structure. The establishment of a firm, lasting peace based on democratic principles and buttressed by an economic system capable of sustaining a high degree of material welfare should go a long way in the creation of conditions conducive to the resumption of the path of reason which was so rudely shattered by Nazism, the greatest aberration of modern times.

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PROBLEMS OF MINORITIES REGARDING AN INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Simon Segal

Contrary to the procedure after the First World War, when a Peace Conference was called to deal with the current political, economic, and social problems, the peace is now being made piecemeal through specialized conferences dealing with specific problems. After this war there may or may not be a formal peace conference. Some of the most important questions that will arise in the postwar world have already been solved, or will be solved, by special meetings of the United Nations before the last shot has been fired.

The agreements of Hot Springs, Atlantic City, and Bretton Woods dealing with food, relief and rehabilitation, and finances are chapters in the general peace settlement. However, the most important chapter—that of the protection of human rights—which must underlie all postwar democratic world order has not yet been written.

Various statements of the United Nations have already made clear that only by the establishment of a world order in which the fundamental human rights of all people are secured can there be an

enduring peace. But to date no statement has been made about the specific measures to be undertaken for the protection of human rights and of a democratic order in the postwar world. Some provisions have been made in the armistice agreements of the United Nations with Rumania and Finland. Also, General Eisenhower in his proclamations after crossing the German border stated that the Allied military authorities will not tolerate the existence of any Nazi or pro-totalitarian organizations and abolished all racial legislation. This is a good beginning but it is *only* a beginning. To secure an enduring peace, the elimination of Nazi organizations is not enough. A positive policy of guaranteeing the democratic rights of all peoples is necessary. Such a guarantee cannot be effective unless it is backed by international machinery and enforcement.

The Jews have been the greatest victims of the international anarchy and of the obsolete principle of complete separation between foreign and domestic affairs. Intolerance and persecution by a state of its own minorities, whether racial, political, or religious, eventually becomes a threat to other countries and endangers the peace of the world. Therefore it cannot be considered as a purely local matter. In the present development of international trade, transportation, and means of communication and propaganda, any strict division between the external and internal affairs of a country is impossible. If the international community permits a government to violate in its own country the fundamental principles upon which our civilization is based, that government will eventually become a world menace to civilization itself. The leaders of the United Nations now realize it and hence the various declarations of the United Nations on the future democratic world order. But these declarations may remain an expression of a pious hope if they are not implemented by specific agreements that would make the protection of the fundamental human rights everywhere in the world a definite responsibility of the future world organization

I

While in the past, the generally accepted principle was that no state has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another state, the situation in some countries was so shocking that intervention was necessary. However, individual intervention by a single state could seldom be considered as purely selfless and often created greater abuses than those it allegedly tried to eliminate.

To a certain extent, it was recognized that full territorial sovereignty, while acceptable in countries with a regime based on the fundamental principles of civilization, could be greatly limited in countries violating that minimum standard. This resulted in the imposition of special extraterritorial rights for citizens of European and later American nations on countries outside of Christian and European civilization. But the fundamental fact remained that full territorial sovereignty is not possible unless there is a basic similarity in the moral, social, and legal structures of the nations and unless the fundamental principles accepted by the civilized world are a part of the internal regimes. The principle of equality of states can be accepted only if there is a basic acceptance of the general principles which underlie all civilized living.

II

One of the most important consequences of the traditional concept of sovereignty is the complete separation between internal and external affairs. A state can do practically anything to its citizens and no one has a right to interfere. This is highly unrealistic. In the modern world the treatment by the nationals of one state may greatly affect other nations. Nazi Germany has uprooted Jews, socialists, and democrats, has driven them into exile, and thrown them on the mercy of other nations who, according to the traditional concept of international law, had no right to object because the treatment of citizens by their own government is allegedly of a purely internal concern.

During the nineteenth century, the United States and some other progressive governments attempted to introduce the principle of so-called humanitarian intervention in international relations. The United States had protested against the Russian pogroms of the Jews and there are several other examples of such intervention. However, here again, it was intervention by one state and the disadvantages of such individual intervention developed very soon. The obvious answer to such disadvantages was to guarantee, through international multilateral treaties and to substitute collective action to individual action, the protection of human rights, especially of the rights of those who belonging to minorities were the most likely to be victims of discrimination and persecution.

This was recognized in view of the increasing influence of nationalism. Nationalism, during the nineteenth century, was a progressive movement associated with democracy and fighting for the independence of nationalities oppressed by the then existing multinational empires. After the First World War it was thought that with the triumph of the principle of self-determination a peaceful order could be maintained by an international organization, the League of Nations. With the loosening and subsequent complete failure of the League's structure, the minority treaties which were a part of that structure completely disintegrated.

III

The protection of Jewish rights is a part of the general protection of human rights. If the fundamental human liberties are sufficiently secure, there is no need for a special status for the Jews. While the full extent of the special minority problem in Europe is not yet known, it is very likely that the prewar system of protection of minorities will not be re-established. Some suggest the exchange of populations as the best means of solving the thorny minority problem of Europe. It is too early to envisage today the magnitude of such an undertaking, which we believe is neither possible nor ad-

visable. A peaceful postwar democratic Europe could not admit that human rights cannot be guaranteed through national and international measures and that a return to the Hitlerite concept of a race state must be accepted in a civilized world. If the situation in Europe will be such that no effective democracy will exist under which every human being, whatever his nationality or creed, could enjoy sufficient opportunities and rights to which he is entitled, then no exchange of populations will prevent another world war. German minorities of some countries might have to be sent to Germany for their own protection because of the attitude of the majority toward them. However, the very concept of an exchange of populations for the purpose of creating homogeneous states, an admission of the impossibility of guaranteeing fundamental human rights to those who do not belong to the majority, is antidemocratic and should not be accepted.

On the contrary, we should strive to guarantee through national constitutions and international machinery: (1) equality before the law of all inhabitants irrespective of race, creed, nationality, or language; (2) equality of economic opportunity for all inhabitants; (3) freedom of religion; and (4) freedom of all sources of information such as press, radio, etc. These rights should be guaranteed to *all* inhabitants. In addition, equality of political rights should be guaranteed to all citizens and equal opportunities for employment in civil service and government institutions irrespective of race, creed, or language.

These rights should be a part of the constitutions of all the European countries as they are part of the Constitution of the United States and other democratic nations. They also should be guaranteed by an international bill of rights which seems to be the best solution for the future for the protection of human rights. If such an international bill of rights could be obtained after this war, it would considerably decrease in the future the number of disputes among nations with regard to the protection of citizens.

abroad and would also guarantee the fundamental rights for those who cannot claim the protection of any country, namely the stateless. It would establish an international minimum standard with regard to the treatment of human beings wherever they may be living and would largely eliminate the excuse for individual intervention by stronger states in the internal affairs of the weaker nations.

The recent Dumbarton Oaks proposals state that one of the purposes of the General International Organization will be "to achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and humanitarian problems" It also provides for the setting up of a special economic and social council to "... facilitate solutions of international, economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and individual freedoms" Thus, the frame has been created into which a Commission on Human Rights could be fitted in Of course, the difficulties of arriving at a specific world-wide agreement on the protection of human rights should not be underestimated.

Not all the United Nations have democratic regimes It is, therefore, unlikely that they would accept any international protection of these rights. Furthermore, even in the countries where the constitutions are democratic, the actual situation is not always in conformity with the terms of the constitutions. To point out the difficulties should, however, not mean the abandonment of the idea of an international agreement altogether It is quite possible that at first such an international agreement will be more of a declaratory than of a really enforceable nature However, it is important that even if it is to be only a declaration of principles, such declaration should be made proclaiming the protection of human liberties as fundamental to the existence and development of a peaceful democratic international community The moral and political effects of such a declaration would be of great importance, and in the event that its violation should become so flagrant that it would threaten peace and

order the international organization could intervene and correct the situation.

Moreover, even if at present an effective general international machinery to guarantee human rights cannot be established, some specific conventions, either on particular subjects or limited to special regions, may implement the principles stated in the universal bill of rights and help create a machinery for their enforcement.

It has been suggested that the Commission on Human Rights to be set up as a part of the General International Organization be granted special right of investigation and control over the treatment of religious, racial, and ethnic minorities in some regions of the world. Of particular interest in this connection are the Central and Eastern European regions where conflicts are so acute that they cannot be solved except by international agreement and machinery. Special local and international tribunals to deal with violations of human rights in those regions may be of importance also to prevent the survival of the Nazi and fascist ideologies. The need for such a special convention may be explained by the specific nature of the minority problems in that part of the world where due to historic and social developments the minorities were subject to discrimination and persecution. The Human Rights Commission could be given, in an agreement limited to those regions, special jurisdiction and standing before the local courts.

Also, special international courts to which appeals could be made from the local courts would be set up. Before these courts the aggrieved individuals should be given a standing and if possible the individuals should have direct access to them. Of course, this would constitute a great departure from the traditional concept of international justice, but such a direct appeal would eliminate a great deal of opposition by the states which, on the basis of the concept of sovereignty, claim to have the right to veto every international political decision. That claim was never made concerning international judicial bodies where the majority principle always prevailed.

Even such a special convention is impossible, whenever the Commission finds that violations of human rights become flagrant or inveterate in any area and the peace between nations is thereby menaced, it should be in a position to recommend to the Council of the International Organization that a trouble zone be declared to exist. Then the Human Rights Commission should be empowered to establish a branch office in the trouble zone for the purpose of providing legal aid to aggrieved persons before national tribunals. The branch office would also follow the observance of any recommendation which the Commission may make or any judicial decision which may be made affecting human rights. The Commission should also be given the right to carry an appeal from the trouble-zone tribunals to the Council or to the Permanent Court.

As far as the protection of the Jews is concerned, consideration should be given to the problems of protecting Jewish religious and group rights especially in the countries in Europe that recognize a state religion with special privileges and rights.

The Jewish rights should be further secured through provisions against anti-Semitism, which could be inserted in the constitutions and laws of the countries having been occupied by the Nazis and subjected to their propaganda for years. Such legislation in the particular postwar situation in Europe may be very useful and necessary because of the influence left by the Nazi ideas in some European countries even after defeat of Hitlerite Germany. That does not imply that legislation against anti-Semitism must be considered as favoring one group or as granting special privileges to the Jews. Such legislation may be a part of the general legislation against all manifestations of Nazi ideology of which anti-Semitism is one of the essential parts. Already in the armistice agreements with Rumania and Finland such anti-Nazi legislation, which includes also measures against anti-Semitism, is forecast and the orders of General Eisenhower after crossing German territory would indicate that stern measures will be taken against all expressions of Nazi phi-

losophy. Especially in the transitional period, therefore, such legislation may be very useful and necessary on the European Continent until such time when Nazism and its companion anti-Semitism are eliminated as potentially dangerous political forces.

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JEWISH STUDENT ACTIVITY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Lorraine Nadelman and Sarah Shulman

That the best potential leadership in the community lies in an educated youth no one will deny. But in these whirlwind days it is not necessary or even advisable for youth to wait for a sheepskin before assuming responsibility of leadership, although preparation is of course necessary. Nowhere in this world of turmoil, hatred, and oppression of minorities can be found so responsive a medium for expression and developing of potentialities as an American metropolitan university campus. In this article we intend to show how the Jewish student in particular can "work" on his campus, by means of a Jewish student organization.

Largely because of lack of funds and understanding in most of our universities, there is a dearth of accredited courses in Hebrew culture and Jewish education. Therefore, the function of a Jewish extracurricular student organization is primarily to supply the opportunity for this study.

Another function is to foster in the Jewish student an appreciation of his own culture. Unfortunately, in a world where "assimilatory" forces are so powerful, too few Jewish students take pride in their Jewish background. They lack proper knowledge and hence appreciation of the greatness of their heritage. By education and training there can be built up a Jewish youth proud and strong with an inner fortitude, secure in the knowledge that his group has

contributed, is contributing, and will continue to contribute a constructive part to world civilization.

A corollary to the above is to increase non-Jewish understanding of the Jewish world. Stereotyped ideas and prejudices have been a barrier to congenial *accord* between Jew and Gentile. A lack of knowledge leads to lack of understanding. Supply the knowledge and such understanding generally will follow. As Chancellor H. W. Chase of New York University has said: "It is through . . . concerted appreciation of the great cultures of the past that we can best hope to bridge many of the difficulties that so unfortunately beset mankind today." What better place than the eclectic atmosphere of a campus?

So it was for the realization of these aims—the education of the Jew in the values of his traditional culture, and the establishment of a better understanding between the Jew and his Gentile companions—that Dean E. George Payne of the School of Education helped organize at New York University the Jewish Culture Foundation. In the seven years of its existence, it has grown to be one of the outstanding groups of its type in America. It is one of the largest student organizations at New York University today and is open to all students—Gentile and Jew alike. While it is run by the students themselves, they have the guidance and advice of a Board of Directors consisting of faculty members and an Advisory Board of rabbis, alumni, and leading Jewish citizens of the community. To coordinate the work of the students and to answer the twenty-four-hour-a-day problems which arise in an organization such as this, it is essential to have a sympathetic adviser who is at once familiar with the issues of school routine and personal problems of the average student in home and social life. To secure such guidance and abiding interest in the welfare of the individual student, it proved to be necessary to engage the services of a trained educator and leader whose entire time and interest is devoted to the furtherance of Jewish culture and education for the youth of today and the civilization of tomorrow.

Since the activities are designed to include the student body at large, they are directed to satisfy all interests. No indoctrination is attempted or precluded, but Judaism is presented in its related problems in all phases: cultural and educational, social, interfaith, leadership training, and war activity. These make up a full and diversified yet integrated program for a university of many divisions.

Cultural and educational. Weekly forums led by well-known lecturers are the mainstay of the cultural and educational program. Current and future problems affecting the Jew—religion, history, literature, art, and music—are a few of the topics discussed by eminent leaders in their various fields. The organization has been fortunate in securing, over the years, men who have presented a true and full picture of the topics under discussion, and aroused student interest and understanding. One adaptation of these forums which has proved very beneficial and stimulating is the Unit Series. For example, a unit on religion included orthodox, conservative, and reform rabbis speaking in successive weeks. Units on culture dealt with art, music, and the theater and presented leaders in their respective fields.

A Round Table Group led and participated in by students, a Zionist Circle, field trips to places of Jewish and interfaith interest, motion pictures on Palestine, folk dancing and music groups, a faculty quiz program—these are some of the other cultural and educational activities.

The Menorah Journal is a potent means of expanding the educational program even to the students' homes. On a more informal basis, the Jewish Culture Foundation monthly newspaper does the same. In addition to the usual organization news, this includes book reviews and stories and explanations of the current religious festivals.

To stimulate further the students' interest in the educational program, various prizes are offered for essays on "Modern Hebrew Literature," "Jewish Contribution to Civilization," and "Hebrew Cul-

ture and Jewish Education." The Jewish Culture Foundation is also the medium for the granting of two Interfaith scholarships of three hundred dollars each. It is significant that last year the "Jewish Contribution to Civilization" Award was won by a Negro student and one of the Benjamin Interfaith Scholarships was awarded this year to the president of the University Christian Association.

Social. The Jewish Culture Foundation has the usual club gatherings such as socials, teas, dances, hikes, boat and bike rides, skating and theater parties, and in addition to this it proves that learning can be fun and fun learning. The Jewish holidays afford the opportunity to make a primarily religious and social event into one at once instructive and cultural.

Homentashen, folk dancing, Purim songs, a skit on the story of Esther bring home to the students the reason for the joyful holiday of Purim. The spirit of Hanukkah is captured by the traditional candle-lighting ceremony, a cultural program of poetry, songs and dances, and a fun program with the ever popular *latkes*.

Probably the highlight of this phase of the Jewish Culture Foundation program is the annual model Passover Seder, which many students, parents, alumni, and faculty attend, and which stimulates much interest and affords opportunity for the clearing of many questions. At a fully appointed Seder table—complete with matzoh, wine, and charoses—a rabbi interprets and explains the traditional symbols and sequence of the Seder. Thus, many a student who had previously thought of the Passover eve in terms of the length of time it took before supper was served has come to revere and appreciate the deeper spiritual meaning behind the ceremonies commemorating Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

Interfaith. As has been mentioned above, the entire program of the Jewish Culture Foundation is aimed at facilitating the harmonious attitude of students of various faiths who have to live and work together, and to stimulate the Jewish student more keenly to appreciate his own culture. But there is a special committee whose

particular duty it is to foster the first point. This committee works in close cooperation with the committees of like purpose of the Christian Association and the Newman Club. Together they sponsor many outstanding activities. In addition to social gatherings which permit the informal mingling of students of different faiths, public meetings have met high acclaim. In recent years a "Religion in Life" week was observed when thirty guest speakers addressed mass meetings on the subject of the integral part played by religion in everyday life. During Brotherhood Week a book and Bible exhibit was held in the Library of Hebraica and Judaica. As a regular feature of the Committee work, symposiums and radio programs are arranged on contemporary issues of interfaith interest, lectures given by authors of currently discussed books, by rabbis, priests, and ministers. Often the three clubs exchange their lecturers, thus adding to good will among the individual groups. Constantly there are being found marks of greater understanding among the students and clubs, directly traceable to the work of this type of cooperation.

Leadership training. The student leaders who plan and execute programs for the organization have an unparalleled opportunity to develop initiative, self-confidence, and a sense of responsibility. In addition, such work is a healthy outlet for individual expression, bridled by the still healthier need for working in harmony with others, for leadership training is more than an education in giving orders. Those who formulate ideas for one field must be willing and able to follow suggestions in another undertaking. Like all democratic enterprises, work of this type requires a spirit of "give and take," of harmony, teamwork, and cheerful cooperation—qualities essential for any successful effort. Such club leaders invariably stand above the average in basic school curricula.

War activities. The advent of the war has brought with it another outlet for the expansion of the spirit of brotherliness on the part of the Jewish Culture Foundation. In addition to making entertainment facilities available for servicemen, it has worked in close co-

operation with the Federation of Jewish University Student Organizations and with the Jewish Welfare Board, has participated in war fund drives such as the United Jewish Appeal, the New York City War Fund, Red Cross, Blood Bank, and book drives. In addition to this, the Letters to Servicemen Committee sees to it that several hundred servicemen hear from "home" each week, and receive gifts from the J. C. F. There are also regular weekly services for the University Heights soldiers.

But all these might be termed ephemeral accomplishments. Yet, every one serves to fettle sturdier characters to deal with a world to come, a world stripped of illusions, a world in which each must be equipped to stand guard at the station appointed him.

In an organization such as this there are limitless possibilities of things of lasting value that can be built upon with each succeeding class of students. At New York University, the Jewish Culture Foundation points with some pride—and justly—to two major achievements. One is the Library of Hebraica and Judaica, founded originally from a unique private collection of the late Dr. Mitchell M. Kaplan, and the William Rosenthal and LaGarde collections. The material in the Library dates from the oldest known manuscripts to the most modern pieces, and covers fiction, nonfiction, Jewish education, and all phases and aspects of Judaic life, custom, and history. The Library is of greatest use to scholars who would carry on research and to students who want to investigate the great Jewish culture so significant for our civilization and our democracy. Since the establishment of the Library, innumerable term papers and graduate theses have been based on material gleaned from this collection. Weekly, contributions are pouring in to broaden the value and extent of the Library. Recently eight valuable oil paintings have been added to enhance its cultural and aesthetic beauty.

The second cultural milestone in this field in which the Jewish Culture Foundation has had an important hand is the establishment of the Chair of Hebrew Culture and Jewish Education. This de-

partment, headed by the executive director of the Jewish Culture Foundation, Professor Abraham I. Katsh, is unique in being the first of its kind in any American university, and carries accredited Hebrew and education courses which meet the requirements for baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees. The funds were furnished to the University by friends and adherents of the Foundation.

This is but the beginning of what can be accomplished by an organization based primarily on good will and appreciation of differences, the will to work, the yen to learn, and the urge to help. These are the standards of our American youth. Let those who will serve in their particular fields until our world is no longer one of turmoil, hatred, and oppression but one of brotherhood and understanding—hence of everlasting peace.

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EDITORIAL

As the war proceeds and total mobilization becomes more nearly achieved, the problems of education which the war is producing become more apparent. It is not difficult to foresee a day in the future when the shooting stops and many towns will be literally "ghost towns" with a goodly sized population forced to move away into a new section of the country to begin life over again. It is obvious that there will be in the neighborhood of 9,000,000 young men coming home, who will be expected to reorient themselves anew to the world of peace. It should be remembered in this regard, also, that the longer the war lasts the greater will be the proportion of young men who finished high school at 18 and went into the army, and consequently know no trade save those related to the art of destruction.

What is not so apparent is the vast trek from the farms to the city which has been stepped up during this war, but which is likely to continue when the war is over. The Rust cotton picker alone will replace from two to six million people in southern agriculture. For the most part these people will be uneducated, if not illiterate, both white and Negro. The tractor is rapidly making a big business enterprise of the farm. Each tractor replaces from one to five families, and the saturation point to which tractors can be used is nowhere in sight.

This all means that the days of the migrant family will be with us again. The nomadic trek from place to place, seeking seasonal employment, or whatever they can get to do, will be repeated again unless extreme care is used. It will mean that children will undergo the ravages of diseases, delinquency, and lack of educational opportunity. It will mean that cities will attempt to use the old patterns of "sending them back where they came from," unless we develop more intelligence in handling the problem than is seen on the horizon at the present time. It is going to mean that cities will try to send a lot of these war workers, whom they have exploited during the emergency, back to their former localities in an effort to prevent them from becoming a drain upon the municipality.

It seems to all add up to the fact that the problems will transcend the boundaries of states or municipalities. It will be a national problem and will have to be handled with national measures. Furthermore, it will have to be handled with a more intelligent approach than the segmental approaches currently being made within the Federal Government itself. The problems of health cannot be divorced from the problems of economic income any more than either can be divorced from the problems of education. There is at present some vague groping toward a federal department with a cabinet post, a department of human welfare, which would combine several of the agencies that are now scattered through several departments, and make an integrated approach to the whole problem. This seems to us worth studying, for certainly aid of any sort should be used as a means to education, and education is an aspect of total welfare.

DAN W. DODSON

RELOCATING THE JAPANESE-AMERICANS— A PROGRESS REPORT

Cecil Morgan

Since this article was prepared, in early December, the Exclusion Order has been rescinded by the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command.

In the past three years there has been much discussion of Japanese-Americans and their problems. Numerous articles on the subject have appeared in various publications; it has been the topic of scores of editorials and radio discussions. Despite all this discussion, however, the agency responsible for the care of the Japanese-American group, the War Relocation Authority, remains one of the least understood of all the Federal wartime agencies. The first purpose of this article is to tell something of the work of this agency. The second purpose of the article is to discuss briefly the effect that the solution of the Japanese-American problem must have upon American thinking.

The War Relocation Authority was established in March 1942, by executive order of the President. Its mission was to care for the Japanese-Americans who have been excluded from the Western Defense Command Zone, as well as for a few German-American and Italian-American excludées from both the Western Defense Command and the Eastern Defense Command Zones. Since the German-Americans and Italian-Americans were excluded only individually, while the Japanese-American exclusion order involved all persons of Japanese ancestry resident in the Western Defense Command Zone, the agency's work has been almost entirely with the latter group.

To get a statistical background on the problem, there are about 127,000 persons of Japanese descent or Japanese nationality in the United States. Prior to the declaration of war, about 89 per cent, or

approximately 112,000, of these people lived in the three Pacific coast States. About 70 per cent of the total are American citizens by birth while the remaining 30 per cent were born in Japan and are therefore unable to acquire American citizenship.¹

The immigrants among the Japanese-Americans had come to the United States for the same reasons that other immigrants have come. Some, both Christians and Buddhists, had come in search of religious freedom. Some had come as political refugees, even as early as 1900, political liberalism in Japan had begun to be unpopular in many localities. Some had come for economic reasons—because they believed America offered greater opportunity for the common man than did Japan. In short, the Japanese immigrants came to the United States for the same reasons that your ancestors and mine came: because they did not like some condition in the old country and thought they could better themselves in the new country. The peak of Japanese immigration came between 1900 and 1910. By 1920 the immigration stream had dropped to a trickle and in 1924 it ceased entirely, with the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act.

It might be mentioned here that most of the Japanese immigrants came from the small landowner and small farm operator classes. However, many of them worked as laborers for a few years after their arrival in the United States. In general they immigrated as single young men; later, after they had become established financially, they either returned to Japan to be married or contracted marriages by the so-called "picture bride" method. The average age of the Japanese aliens in the United States, both men and women, is now fifty-nine. Since most of the first generation group were married comparatively late in life, there is an abnormal gap between the average age of the first generation group and that of the second generation, or Nisei, group.

The history of the Japanese immigrants in the United States has

¹ A few Japanese-American aliens, who served in the United States Army during World War I, have been granted American citizenship by special act of Congress.

followed the pattern common to all recent immigrant groups. They were exploited by the railroads and big landowners at first, used as strikebreakers, etc. During this period they incurred the enmity of longer established immigrant groups and of organized labor, even as the Irish, the Hungarians, and the Italians had aroused that enmity in their turns.

Then they entered the second stage of their Americanization. Without any formal organization, they tried to get their employers to pay them the same wages that other workers received for the same work. At this stage in the Americanization process, no immigrant group is favorably regarded by the employers who have previously exploited them, the Japanese were no exception to the rule. Having thus incurred the enmity of both labor and capital, the Japanese-American immigrants were forced to earn their livelihood by developing submarginal tracts of land, taking the jobs that nobody else would have, etc. At this stage in their Americanization, each new immigrant group has been forced to live to itself. This is what might be called the "ghetto stage." Many of the Japanese immigrants were still in this stage at the time of the outbreak of war. Their children, however, have progressed beyond the "ghetto stage." They have become as thoroughly Americanized through their public-school work, contacts with church groups, etc., as it is possible for any second generation group to be. This was roughly the stage prevailing at the outbreak of the war. With various social and economic groups opposing them, the Japanese problem in California had assumed a political importance entirely unjustified by the number of people involved. When we consider that the entire Japanese-American population in the United States would, if gathered in one spot, constitute only a third of the population of such a small city as Denver, we can see that the Japanese problem in the United States has been grossly exaggerated.

In February 1942, the commanding general of the Western Defense Command Zone ordered the evacuation of all persons of Jap-

anese nationality or Japanese ancestry from the Western Defense Command Zone. During the month that followed, this evacuation was on a voluntary basis and during that time some 10,000 evacuees did seek other homes inland. However, that voluntary evacuation movement quickly produced complications in the inland communities. Only one governor of any western State, Governor Carr of Colorado, went on record as being in any way disposed to welcome the evacuees. The native Japanese people in the regions to which the evacuees went did not welcome the newcomers. Their own position in the community had been rendered extremely insecure by the Pearl Harbor outrage. They did not, therefore, welcome the migration of strange persons of Japanese ancestry into their home communities. It was to avoid the complications brought on by the voluntary evacuation as well as to implement the order of the commanding general that the War Relocation Authority was established in March 1942.

The first task of the new agency was to supervise the establishment of the evacuees in ten relocation centers. In connection with this evacuation, I want again to call attention to two significant facts: first, the evacuee group is composed of people over two thirds of whom are American citizens by birth; second, these people are not enemy agents or saboteurs. Not one single act of sabotage has ever been responsibly charged against any person now living in a relocation center. At the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, we heard a great many stories of the acts of sabotage committed in the Hawaiian Islands and on the west coast by Japanese residents. Neither the F.B.I. nor the Truman Committee could find any concrete evidence to back up these rumors. These facts are important because many people have not made the distinction in their thinking between the Japanese whom we are fighting in the Pacific and our own loyal Japanese-American group.

In regard to some of the charges that have recently been leveled at the War Relocation Authority's management of the centers, you

have perhaps heard a great many stories about the luxurious facilities provided by the Government for the Japanese in the centers. I spent several days in one of the centers, and, if the Government provides luxurious facilities of any description, I failed to see any evidence of them. The quarters provided are the same type quarters found in any temporary army camp: one-story barrack buildings, twenty feet wide and one hundred feet long. These buildings are commonly divided into four-family compartments each measuring twenty by twenty-four feet. The family of five is taken as the standard unit, and each such family is provided with one single twenty by twenty-four foot room. The barracks are of tar paper (sand blast) construction lined on the inside with Celotex. The floors are of wood or of brick, set in sand. In the middle of each family room is a wood- or coal-burning stove. Army cots and blankets are provided by the Government. If any additional furnishing is wanted it must be done by the evacuee himself at his own expense. Evacuees are fed in a central mess hall, there being one mess hall to each block of barracks. The food provided can cost a maximum of 45 cents per day per person, as compared with the 60 cents per day allowance made by the army. In actual fact, food expenditures in no camp exceed 42 cents per person per day and it ranges from that figure down to 33 cents per day. The luxury story just does not hold together. The Government does provide hospital facilities and medical services. Provision is also made for each adult person to earn a small amount of spending money. Where the evacuee works regularly, putting in a forty-four hour week, he is given an allowance of \$12 to \$19 per month for his work. If he does not work he gets nothing.

Once the evacuees were established in their temporary homes, the War Relocation Authority undertook two major tasks in addition to the task of operating the centers. The first of these was a segregation program designed to separate those persons of doubtful loyalty from those whose records are entirely clear. This segregation program has been completed for some months. The second of the tasks

mentioned above is that of returning the loyal members of the group to ordinary American life. For this purpose, a field staff of approximately fifty area and district officers is maintained. The function of the field officers is to discover localities outside the evacuated area where the loyal Japanese-Americans can live and work with profit to themselves, their adopted communities, and the country at large. So far (up to December 1944), some 32,000 evacuees have been relocated in various civilian pursuits. Another 13,000 young men and women of Japanese ancestry are now serving in the armed forces of the United States. Some 58,000 persons are still living in the eight relocation centers still in operation. By far the greater portion of the people already relocated are those with urban skills and urban backgrounds. Most of the people still in the relocation centers are those with rural backgrounds. The failure of these farm people to relocate as rapidly as those with urban backgrounds may be explained in part by calling it the natural conservatism of farm people. A part of the explanation lies in the difficulty of obtaining farm machinery and equipment with which to re-enter that vocation. At least a part of the explanation lies in the fact that the Japanese-American farmers were engaged in a highly specialized type of farming in their Pacific Coast homes and that they have had little experience in the more generalized farming practised over most of the country. The immediate problem confronting the War Relocation Authority, especially the field staff, is that of moving this group of farmers back to the land.

This re-employment program can succeed only if the public is aware of its purpose and if the public gives its support to the program. The educational groups in the country have the responsibility of helping to get these facts to the public and of winning the public's support for this Government program. If we can, by our united efforts, work ourselves out of the unenviable position in which we have been placed by this evacuation, we shall be in a much more favorable spot both during the war and for the peace that follows

Our treatment of the Japanese-American minority has provided the Japanese Government with some valuable propaganda material. It has enabled the Japanese to tell the Chinese and the Hindus that this is not a war for democracy, but rather a racial war. That propaganda has already weakened both the Chinese and the Hindu war effort. It will be a little embarrassing for us to go to the peace conference demanding equal rights for all peoples unless we can in the meantime come much closer to a permanent solution of our own minority problems than we have yet reached.

So far, I have been talking about a wartime problem, the treatment received by one racial group in time of war. Implicit in this is the much greater problem of the treatment of all minority groups in both peace and war. And each of us is a member of some minority group. America is made up of minority groups. If you are a Republican you are a member of a minority group—for the moment, at least—and if you are a Democrat you are a member of what may be a minority group two years hence, if you are a Catholic you are one of a minority; if you are a Baptist or a Methodist or a Presbyterian, or what have you, you are still a member of a minority group. If we permit ourselves to be stampeded by wartime pressures today into singling out one minority group for unfair and un-American treatment, what is there to prevent our singling out another group tomorrow for similar treatment? Today it is the Japanese, the Negroes, the Mexicans, the Jews, and so on, in one or another part of the country; tomorrow it could just as well be the Irish, or the Danes, or the Catholics, or the Methodists, or the Democrats. The moment we allow ourselves to commit one act of racial prejudice, we open the way for the oppression of any and all minorities; we strike down one of the pillars of Americanism. The very foundation stone of fascism is the doctrine of the master race. If we defeat the fascist nations upon the field of battle and succumb to their philosophies, we shall have lost this war. And we shall have lost the peace which is to come. The world has shrunk so much

within the past generation that no people can live peaceably with its neighbors believing itself to be the master race. That applies to our domestic affairs as well as to our foreign relations.

The very essence of Americanism is the ideal of tolerance proclaimed by Christ, that doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The doctrine of racial bigotry has already made dangerous inroads upon American thinking; unless each of us does his part in counterattacking it, this bigotry will wreck the thing we call the American way of life. Each of us has his part to play in this struggle. To us is given the task of combating this dangerous un-American philosophy; ours is the privilege of defending in our communities those ideals of Americanism for which we are all fighting.

COLLEGE COUNSELING FOR THE WAR VETERAN

J. Richard Toven

Soldiers, sailors, and marines who are being returned to civilian life are keenly alive to the advantages of further education and training. They have seen the opportunities that are open for college-trained men and women to advance to positions of responsibility in the armed forces. In fact, according to the report of the American Council on Education, 70 per cent of the graduates of officer candidate school came from the ranks of the college trained, although less than 12 per cent of those in the armed forces have attended college.

One of the most effective methods of helping these veterans to adjust to civilian life is to provide them with an educational program that is especially designed to meet their needs. Federal and State funds are now available for this purpose. Also appropriate Federal agencies are providing adequate care for the physically and mentally handicapped veterans. Therefore, those for whom the colleges will have to make provision will be, for the most part, fit to participate in normal college life and activities. They will, however, look to the colleges to help them to adjust themselves to civilian life and to find the means of earning a satisfactory living. For that reason their educational programs must be of a more obviously practical nature than would be the case under ordinary conditions. Of course this does not necessarily mean that the liberal arts should be omitted. As a matter of fact, surprisingly large numbers of returning men and women are asking that such courses be made an integral part of their educational programs, because they are convinced that cultural courses are valuable to them.

The college counseling program has to be designed to meet the special practical needs of the veteran. All the known facilities for counseling and guiding that can serve this practical end must be available whenever and wherever necessary. The task of the coun-

selor in carrying out such a program is to develop the aptitudes and abilities of the veteran so that he can be assured of a reasonable measure of success in his chosen vocation or profession in the shortest possible time.

At the outset, the counselor must help the veteran to formulate and clarify his vocational and educational objectives. In doing so, he will have to remember that veterans are mature beyond their years as a result of their war experience and that they must therefore be treated as adults and not as returning school boys. This maturity of the veterans poses a special problem for institutions of higher education, for they will have to make provision not only for veterans of college level but also for those of high-school level who require further secondary education but who are too mature to fit into the high schools.

According to the estimates of Government authorities, more than 50,000 men and women are being discharged each month from the armed services. This number will increase as the war progresses. A great number of these veterans will want to continue their college work, and therefore trained personnel must be available in our educational institutions to help them readjust themselves to academic life.

The counselor chosen for this work must be trained in the basic principles of guidance. He must be able to cope with the special problems that each veteran is going to present, and he must be able to see problems from various points of view. He must be so sure of the value of his work that he inspires confidence in the veterans who consult him. As part of his background, he ought to be conversant with educational and vocational opportunities and trends. Above all, he should have experience, foresight, wisdom, and integrity.

No two counselors ever employ exactly the same techniques, but the experienced counselor will avail himself of those techniques that he has found to be the most effective. However, no matter what technique is used, the counselor will find that the facts and evidence

he has to consider in each case are essentially the same. He must take into account the war experience, vocational choices, achievement in high-school and college, results of the tests administered in the armed forces, personality, certain attitudes and interests, marital status, economic status, and the data available from outside agencies. The demands of the interview will determine in each case the order of importance of these data. Also the counselor will stress the data which are of greatest significance in the case under consideration.

The War Experience

Since his war experience constitutes the veteran's immediate background, the counselor will naturally find out all he can about it as soon as possible. With tactful questioning, he will gain much helpful information, especially if the veteran is willing to talk about his war experiences and about their impact on his ideas of life. If his outlook on life is basically sound, the counselor can go on to the next step in the interview. If, on the other hand, his attitude betrays bitterness and resentment, the counselor must begin his work by building up a well-balanced philosophy of life.

Much valuable information can be gained from the veteran's discharge certificate and service record. The state of his health is indicated by the type of discharge he has been given. It is important for the counselor to know the physical condition of the veteran, for this will determine to some extent the kind of education or retraining the discharged service man or woman should be encouraged to undertake. The service record indicates the nature of the veteran's activities while a member of the armed forces. It lists any education he has been given in service schools or through the Armed Forces Institute. This education must be evaluated for credit toward admission to college or toward possible advanced credit, and it must bear considerable weight in any educational plan that he works out for the veteran.

Vocational and Professional Choices

Because the veteran who returns to college is primarily interested in education as a means of gaining a congenial livelihood and is interested to a lesser degree only in its cultural aspects, the traditional college curriculum will have to be modified for him. Unlike the ordinary student, he has visited other parts of the world and has developed clear-cut ideas as a result of discussing his plans with other men and of having plenty of time to "think things out" for himself. He is greatly attached to these ideas, which are strengthened in his mind because he has seen for himself the advantages that accrue from good "practical" training.

In planning his postwar education, the veteran wants to bridge the gap from war to peace and wants to be assured that he can earn a satisfactory living as a result of his additional educational experience. All too often he brings in to his counselor vocational and professional objectives that cannot be achieved because they do not conform to his aptitudes and to circumstances. In helping him to come to common-sense decisions in these matters, the counselor must examine and evaluate his whole record. It may be necessary to give him aptitude and achievement tests in order to convince him that he has not made a suitable choice of a vocation. Then the counselor has to encourage him to think in terms of a vocation in which he has a reasonable chance of succeeding. If, on the other hand, the veteran presents a practical and attainable choice of vocation, it is possible for the counselor to do a superior job of guidance because he can take full advantage of the veteran's cooperation in working out a sound retraining program.

High-School and College Achievement

Veterans who seek admission to college fall into three classes: those who have not completed the high-school course; those who

have graduated from high school, and those who have one term or more of college work to their credit.

Those who have not completed their high-school courses present a special problem, especially if the course of retraining they wish to take demands high-school graduation as a prerequisite. Because they are older than ordinary high-school students and particularly because they are too mature to fit into the adolescent atmosphere of the high schools, they will have to be given the preliminary training they need in the institutions in which they are to get their higher education and training. High-school graduates present few difficulties in gaining admission to colleges. However, some of them will lack certain required units or will not meet the high-school pattern demanded. In such cases, the colleges should be willing to modify their admission requirements or should permit veterans to make up deficiencies while pursuing their courses. College students, who have been discharged from the armed services and who wish to return to continue their courses, should not present any special problems in orientation and adjustment. Their records will show that they are capable of college work.

In dealing with these problems, the counselor must place adequate emphasis on school or college achievement if he is to aid the veteran aright in the choice of a career. High achievement indicates that the veteran can take advantage of training and of further education at college level. Low scholastic achievement indicates to the counselor that the veteran should not choose careers that involve "book learning." However, these are no more than general indications, and veterans will provide many exceptions to any general rule. The theory of individual differences is an important guide in effective counseling; consequently, exceptional cases can be readily recognized and so can be dealt with effectively. The counseling of these three groups of veterans must be done carefully and sensibly if ex-service men and women are to make the most of their educational opportunities. When interviewing them, the counselor must direct

them in such a way that they will select careers that will offer them a reasonably full measure of success

Tests Administered in the Armed Forces

Men and women in the armed forces are given so many intelligence, aptitude, and personality tests that veterans tend to be test minded. They or their comrades have been assigned to special duties or have been transferred to other localities on the basis of these tests and of interviews that followed the testing. Hence, they know from their own experience that such tests can be highly valuable. Consequently, when they return to educational institutions, they usually expect to be tested and examined anew. They want to be told which curricula they should take and what their chances are of success in further education. They are particularly interested in finding out what vocations and professions will give promise of greatest success for them when their individual aptitudes and abilities, together with postwar employment opportunities, are taken into consideration. For these reasons, colleges and other institutions of higher education must be prepared to administer all sorts of tests which the veterans may request, or to which they may look for information of importance to them in choosing vocations or professions.

The counselor, therefore, must be sufficiently familiar with the field of educational testing to take advantage of the data furnished by the armed forces tests. He must also be prepared to outline a series of tests for each veteran and to interpret the results. The data provided by all these tests should constitute a valuable body of evidence for the counselor in his task of advising the veteran as to his educational program.

Personality

Personality plays an important part in the selection of a vocation or profession for the veteran. Objective tests are not usually effective

in measuring personality traits, but nonetheless, personality is a most important factor in determining which vocation the veteran should select. His war experience has crystallized many of his personality traits, and no further development of them can be expected. In each case, the counselor must decide whether this abnormal maturity will prove advantageous or detrimental to the veteran in the calling he has selected. The counselor's own experience will show him the importance of finding a career that is in harmony with one's personality. At the same time, he should make use of personality tests so he can get a true and complete picture of the individual he is advising.

Attitudes and Interests

The veteran's mental attitude toward life differs strikingly from that of the man or woman entering the service. He has had to put aside his plans for life, and in the armed forces he has had to learn to follow orders without question. The result of this has been that frequently he has become somewhat categorical in his decisions. Also, while he has been in service, there have been changes of a fundamental nature in the social and economic fabric which have rendered his pristine ambitions unattainable. Factors such as these have caused him to change his aims, but at the same time they may have left him with a feeling of bitterness and discontent.

It is, of course, the task of the counselor to examine and evaluate the veteran's attitude toward these problems he must face. If that attitude should be found unsatisfactory in any way, the counselor must set to work to change it. If he finds that the veteran's interests are obscure, he must help to clarify them so they can be taken into account in the formulation of his educational and vocational objectives.

Marital Status

Marital responsibilities frequently complicate the plans for re-training the veteran. If he is single, the problem is simple. If, on the

other hand, he is married, financial considerations enter into the picture. In addition, the attitude of his wife must be taken into account. The counselor will have to assist him in all sorts of problems that are sure to arise from the fact that he is a married man. The satisfactory solution of these problems is of the utmost importance, and frequently the sanity of the counselor's advice will make all the difference between success and failure of the plans for the education and retraining of the veteran.

The Economic Problem

Adequate financial assistance for him to re-establish himself in civilian life is of first importance to the veteran. It is possible that legislation already in effect will meet this problem satisfactorily. Moreover, special measures have been taken to care for veterans who have well-defined physical disabilities. Also, in some States, the legislative authorities are contemplating the organization of free institutes to meet the educational and vocational needs of the veterans. In any case, it looks as if the financial problems of the veteran will be sufficiently met.

The chief problem left for the counselor to face is that of working out a plan whereby the veteran with dependents can take advantage of the college educational program in the limited time at his disposal before he once more becomes the breadwinner for his family. The counselor must be able to assist in drawing up workable personal budgets, and he may even have to aid in securing part-time employment for the veteran so that he can carry out the educational program planned for him.

Outside Data Available

Federal, State, semigovernmental, and private agencies exist whose services and facilities are available to the veteran. Their services are mostly of a specialized nature, but in most cases they will prove of inestimable value to the counselor in his work with the

veteran who wishes to gain further education and training. It is, however, vital for the counselor to have access to the army and navy records so he can be conversant with the specific information they contain. The Veterans Administration has organized an effective method for dealing with the physical and mental health problems that arise out of war service. It is expected that the counselor will also be able to call on the American Red Cross, the American Legion, the various State rehabilitation services, the Selective Service, the Army Emergency Relief, and other agencies for assistance in the counseling of ex-service men and women. Whatever the source, the counselor must be on the alert to take advantage of any information or assistance that will be of help to him in his work with the veteran.

In all this, it is clear that the sound principles of guidance which have proved effective in student personnel work have merely been re-emphasized and modified to meet a different kind of student personnel problem. The importance of the counselor in the vital work of advising the veteran is indicated by the very definition of counseling, which is to study the individual; to discover his aptitudes, abilities, and capacities; and to aid in the process of expanding and developing his talents harmoniously so that he can become a useful and happy member of society.

CHURCH SCHOOLS

Some Factors in the Relation Among Private, Public, and Parochial Schools

Stanley H. Chapman

The presence within his own community of three school systems—private, public, and parochial—has given many a private citizen, parent, taxpayer, and social scientist reason for speculation. No attempt will be made in this paper to review the voluminous literature, which is predominantly in the fields of education, religion, and popular writing. Neither will any attempt be made to go beyond a few selected factors in the relationship of the three school systems. Focused upon the church, or parochial school, the treatment will be primarily concerned with ecological analysis, following the leads provided by Davie, Kennedy, and Martin.¹ Special point will be given, for one community, to the observation by Scudder Mekeel that the precipitate of special aspects of our culture called education, which is entrusted for transmission to specific institutions, is not turned over in all societies to the same type of institutions.²

New Haven, Connecticut, was founded in 1638 by a party of 250 from Boston who hoped to establish a commonwealth based upon commerce and the Bible. The original settlers included a preponder-

¹ Professor Maurice R. Davie, in "The Pattern of Urban Growth," *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pages 133-162, has studied the characteristics of the New Haven community and has described homogeneous areas which have served as the basis of intensive ecological study of the city by himself and others.

Professor Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, in "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *The American Journal of Sociology* (January 1944), Vol. 49, pages 331-340, has reformulated and given concrete content to the phenomenon observed by others, that there is arising a triple American culture—Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant.

Professor R. R. Martin, in "The Church and Changing Ecological Dominance," *Sociology and Social Research* (January-February 1941), Vol. 25, pages 246-257, posits a functioning concept that deserves confirmatory study.

² "Education, Child-Training, and Culture," *The American Journal of Sociology* (May 1943), Vol. 48, page 676.

ance of skilled workmen and farmers with their families. They were led by the Rev John Davenport, a dissenting priest of the Church of England, and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant who fancied the New Haven harbor and had visions of establishing a trading center. The chief men of the colonists were well-to-do merchants from London.³

In 1638 the single school in New Haven was kept that the boys of the colony might learn to read their Bibles, write English, and parse Latin. It is to be presumed that such eminently practical entrepreneurial settlers had some interest, however slight, in elementary arithmetic for the God-fearing keeping of accounts. Public instruction was not provided in elementary subjects for girls.⁴

Since the time of the first schoolmaster, education has become secularized. The first school was controlled in the same indirect way as the beliefs of church members: the teacher himself was held to account for his own orthodoxy before the church fathers. In 1650 the Hopkins Grammar School opened for boys, without regard to faith. Two years later, the original colony school closed its doors. In 1728 tuition at Hopkins was refused to all but children of Congregational or Presbyterian parents. Free public education dates from 1676, in compliance with a 1644 enactment of Connecticut (which colony State absorbed the hitherto independent colony of New Haven), that every township of fifty householders maintain a teacher for all children who might go to him for instruction in writing and reading.⁵

Today there are three classes of schools in the city: free, nonsectarian public schools, tuition-charging private schools generally

³ E L Heermance, *The Connecticut Guide* (Hartford Emergency Relief Commission, 1935), page 25, H W Odum and H E Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1938), page 499, O Shepard, *Connecticut, Past and Present* (New York Alfred A Knopf, 1939), page 22

⁴ E E Atwater, *History of the City of New Haven to the Present Time* (New York W W Munsell and Company, 1887), pages 147-148

⁵ *Ibid*, pages 151, 161

without religious coloring; and church or parochial schools, which are limited to Roman Catholics.⁹

At present, the dominant elementary and secondary system is public. It represents the success of the civil practice of government as opposed to the religious, the aristocratic, and the minority. It is dependent, in its present state, on the continued ascendancy of the civil point of view, which places citizenship upon a different plane from religion and social class. Any change in the relative advantage of state, social class, and church will disturb this adjustment.

The proportions of the three systems can be roughly judged by an examination of the tax-exempt real estate owned and utilized by each. In 1941 the Grand List (the property roll) of the City of New Haven based upon 1940 real-estate holdings totaled \$256,501,135, including \$139,850,499 of statutory exemptions of various types. All exempted school real estate totaled \$10,101,220. Exempted church buildings, by way of comparison, came to \$5,871,570; all exempted church-owned real estate, \$8,829,803.

The church holdings are but a small percentage (3.9 per cent) of the total property of the community, and even in the exempt category churches are not very prominent, ranking quite secondary to schools and other public property. Indeed, Yale University alone claims a tax exemption of more than \$68,000,000, or nearly eight times as much as all church property and nearly seven times as much as all the schools. Exemptions comparable to that enjoyed by church property were for schools, New Haven municipal services, cemeteries, and Yale University. The over-all picture of the exemptions is as follows:

⁹ Although the number and proportions had changed by the time the data of this study were obtained (1941-1943), there were, in 1939, 51 public schools, 10 private, and 10 parochial. New Haven Chamber of Commerce, *Economic and Industrial Survey, New Haven, Connecticut* (1939), pages 106-107.

Exemptions for schools:

Private	Hopkins Grammar School	\$ 382,400 00
Public	New Haven Public Schools	7,578,905.00
Parochial	Catholic	2,139,915 00
Total		<hr/> \$10,101,220.00

Exemptions on City of New Haven facilities

Fire Department	\$ 518,525 00
Police Department	269,075.00
Parks	13,352,990.00
Schools (as above)	7,578,905.00

Total	<hr/> \$21,719,495.00
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Cemeteries	930,265 00
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The Housing Authority of the City of New Haven	2,301,010.00
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Yale University	68,660,905.00
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All church-owned tax-exempt real estate	8,829,803 00
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Educational property thus stands in descending order - public, parochial, private.

In terms of financial support, this means that in 1942 the community as a whole contributed to the support, through real-estate taxes, of one private school (out of the ten), all public schools, and all fifteen parochial schools. The public schools alone received full financial support from tax funds, the others were merely relieved of their tax burden. The enrolled pupil beneficiaries of such indirectly subsidized education in private, public, and parochial schools at the beginning of the academic year 1941-1942 numbered, respectively, 143, 25,084, and 4,271, making a public tax-exemption subsidy of roughly \$2,674 per pupil in private school, \$302 in public, and \$501 in parochial. The figure per Hopkins Grammar School pupil appears superficially to be disproportionately high. It can, however, be written off against the historical implications of the

school and the educational prestige entailed by its presence in the city.

Ecological analysis of the church-school property is significant. The basis of this analysis will be the ecological areas (twenty-five in number) described by Professor Davie, which have come in the literature of New Haven study to be known as Davie Districts (here called merely Districts), and which are further classifiable into seven District Types.⁸

- A. Upper class residential
- B. Upper middle-class residential
- C. Lower middle-class residential
- D. Lower class residential
- E. Business
- F. Industrial
- G. Yale University

The first four District Types have scaled relationship; the last three are merely descriptive.

In applying this analytical material, it will be well to bear in mind the insistence of Elin Anderson that the significant church distinctions are between Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant. She has written: "Only the three major divisions into Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish still retain a philosophical justification. The original issues which determined men to select one sect or another have been more or less replaced by social or economic distinctions."⁹ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy has particularized this observation in her summary statement:

The increasing intermarriage in New Haven is not general and indiscriminate but is channeled by religious barriers; and groups with the same

⁸A six-category classification is used by G. E. Evans, "Social and Geographical Distribution of Dispensary Cases of Rheumatic Fever in New Haven," *Rheumatic Fever in New Haven* (New Haven: Science Press, 1941), pages 93-108. A four category classification is used by M. R. Davie and R. J. Reeves in "Proximity of Residence Before Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology*, January 1939, Vol. 44, pages 504-517.

⁹E. L. Anderson, *We Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), page 78.

religions tend to intermarry. Thus, Irish, Italians, and Poles (Catholic) intermarry mostly among themselves, and British-Americans, Germans, and Scandinavians (Protestant) do likewise, while Jews seldom marry Gentiles.¹⁰

New Haven's 112 churches are made up of 13 Jewish, 24 Catholic, 69 Protestant, and 6 other churches (a church group that has no significance for us here and may be considered as roughly equivalent to Protestant). Of the Catholic churches active in 1942, the first was founded in 1848, the newest in 1938. The accompanying table gives their district and District Type distribution, the value of tax-exempted school real estate and of church property. Sixteen churches own school property. The Catholics show a more varied, more consistent, and fuller inventory of real estate than any other church group. Every church owns its quarters. Of the five non-Roman Catholic churches,¹¹ only one owns school property listed separately from church property. The discrepancy between Roman and non-Roman Catholic holdings, generally, and schools, specifically, reflects the difference in length of residence and economic success; this is true of both denomination and constituency.

The significance of land use and land value lies in the outstanding, unique, Catholic interest in schools. The table lists only the school real estate proper, omitting the convents that house the teaching nuns and fathers, reserve land intended for future educational purposes, and properties whose educational use does not have an equivalent in the municipal public educational system. The \$920,735 of exempted operating school property, roughly 42 per cent of the \$2,182,825 in churches, has an interesting distribution: 1 per cent in district type A, 6 per cent in B, 69 per cent in C, 20 per cent in D, and 4 per cent in G. Remembering that there is one school in district type C that does not appear on the grand list in such a way as to enter the above analysis, it is clear that the concentration of Catholic

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, page 339.

¹¹ The Catholic Church Group in New Haven is taken to comprise the Greek Eastern Orthodox, Russian Eastern Orthodox, Syrian Eastern Orthodox, Uniate Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic.

TAX-EXEMPT CHURCH AND SCHOOL REAL ESTATE OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH GROUP, BY DISTRICT AND DISTRICT TYPE

District	District Type	Number of Churches	Church Property		School Property		Per cent
			Number of Churches	Valuation	Number of Churches	Valuation	
I	A	-	-	-	-	-	
II	B	2	2	\$ 208,145 00	1	\$ 46,305 00	
III	C	1	1	104,940 00	1	159,260 00	
IV	D	4	4	289,990 00	3	156,710 00	
V	D	-	-	-	-	-	
VI	D	2	2	110,420.00	1	38,565 00	
VII	C	1	1	115,805 00	1	80,000 00	
VIII	C	-	-	-	-	-	
IX	C	-	-	-	-	-	
X	B	1	1	7,725 00	-	-	
XI	C	1	1	171,550 00	1	48,250 00	
XII	C	4	4	310,780 00	2*	224,860 00	
XIII	D	-	-	-	-	-	
XIV	B	3	3	162,355 00	1	4,935 00	
XV	C	1	1	12,575 00	-	-	
XVI	B	1	1	216,200 00	-	-	
XVII	A	1	1	122,920 00	1	7,550.00	
XVIII	B	-	-	-	-	-	
XIX	C	-	-	-	-	-	
XX	C	-	-	-	-	-	
XXI	C	1	1	92,505 00	1	120,000 00	
XXII	B	-	-	-	-	-	
XXIII	E	-	-	-	-	-	
XXIV	F	-	-	-	-	-	
XXV	G	1	1	256,915.00	1	34,300 00	
Total		24	24	\$2,182,825.00	14*	\$920,735 00	

District Type Summary

A	1	1	\$ 122,920 00	1	\$ 7,550 00	01
B	7	7	594,425 00	2	51,240.00	06
C	9	9	808,155 00	6*	632,370 00	69
D	6	6	400,410 00	4	195,275 00	20
E	-	-	-	-	-	
F	-	-	-	-	-	
G	1	1	256,915 00	1	34,300 00	04
Total	24	24	\$2,182,825 00	14*	\$920,735 00	100

* Only fifteen parochial schools are included here of the sixteen appearing on the grand list, for the sixteenth is listed without separation from the church property. It is in District XII, District Type C.

Group school investment is in the lower middle-class residential area, that the district types display a relative concentration downward from C rather than upward.

The particular significance of this residential class distribution under discussion here is that it draws clearly discernible social and economic lines in regard to the investment in the Catholic children in New Haven. Compared with the distribution of investment in purely church property, it is particularly interesting, for that property also has its greatest concentration in type C, but has a relative concentration upward, rather than downward. In the cases of both school and church property, district A has the slightest representation. To complete this comparison a term analysis of the attendance by district and district type at both public and parochial schools would be necessary.

The expense of the parochial-school system, upon which figures are not available, may be assumed to be proportionately even greater than the parochial-public tax exemption of \$501, \$302 per enrolled pupil, for the system is relatively small and enjoys fewer of the economies available to large-scale educational enterprise.

In view of the table breakdown of churches and church schools, one is justified in positing that parochial schools follow Catholic churches, which in turn follow Catholic population. Martin¹² has put it thus: "The church is of little consequence in determining the community spatial pattern." He also offers three indices of dominance that could profitably be examined by extended collection of data and further analysis.

The concept of church group (Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant) takes on meaning, after even so superficial a review of parochial schools, and fits into the pattern described by one of the country's leading lay apologists for the Roman Catholic Church.¹³ Dr. Schuster

¹² *Op cit*, p. 257

¹³ George N. Schuster, "Panorama of the Catholic Mood," *Common Ground*, Summer 1941, Vol. 1, pages 60, 61

describes "the psychical cloister inside which the individual Catholic perforce dwells . . . hedged round by sacrament and ceremonial, custom and command." He describes the normal cleavage between the Catholic and his fellow citizen as "likely to be most marked when social or ethical problems are under discussion." This he explains by saying that "in each case the reasoning is based upon philosophical or religious assumptions that those reared in other creeds often do not comprehend."

This separatist tendency is evident in the initial 1941-1942 enrollment of public and parochial schools (respectively 25,084 and 4,271). It may be termed religious minority self-consciousness, reflecting the national minority history of the Catholic Church group in New Haven. The Irish brought Catholicism to the city and have, by becoming Americanized and retaining their faith, given it a native standing, in the same way that British colonists brought their Congregationalism, Episcopalianism, and other Protestant group denominationalism. Catholicism is, however, relatively young. It is the faith of much of the newer strains of immigration: Italian, Polish, and other eastern European New Haveners who are non-Roman Catholics. As Schuster hazards and Kennedy proves, the Roman Catholic Irish are the marrying leaven and the faith pacesetters of the newer Americans.

Some of the implications of the separatist function of the parochial school are discussed by an Irish-American in a semi-autobiographical and realistic novel, the scene of which is a nearby Connecticut town:¹⁴

Mamma didn't want him to go to the parochial school anyhow because the kids there were too fresh. All the kids from down the river (the wrong side of the tracks) . . . went to parochial school, and the Italian kids from over the bridge. Some of the hunkies and Polacks went there too. They weren't dressed nice and they were always fighting and making noise.

¹⁴ Thomas Sugrue, *Such Is the Kingdom* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), page 100.

This is an intimate reflection of the ecological analysis that has gone before

The same train of thought, although less well considered, is portrayed in Evy Flittman, in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, who wanted to be somebody, whose first step in the process of making her children somebodies was to transfer them from a Catholic to a Protestant Sunday school. "She had gotten it into her head that the Protestants were more refined than the Catholics"¹⁶ Ecological analysis of the distribution of population, of churches, and of schools in New Haven would give point to her impression, as well as to the threefold characterization of schools in Jackson, Wisconsin, where "There's no sorting out in fancy private schools, and plain public schools, and slum schools."¹⁷

This impressionistic assigning of Catholic schools to the lower class does not precisely square with ecological analysis, which finds one Catholic church in one of the two best residential districts in the city. It does, however, bear some relation to the concentration of parochial schools. Without qualification, it does represent in objective rephrasing a comment upon the social and economic implications of parochial schooling.

The classic role of the Catholic church and its schools in the process of Americanization is generally admitted by students of American race relations. As many have pointed out, the parochial school contribution is of a new type of Americanism, a kind not at all synonymous with the traditional New England concept of Anglo-British citizenship as separable and independent from church.¹⁸

A system of education is the most self-conscious institutionalization of a culture's efforts to perpetuate itself. As Scudder Mekeel has written.

¹⁶ Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), page 60

¹⁷ Craig Rice, *Trial by Fury* (New York: Pocket Books Series, 1943), page 135

¹⁸ André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), page 23

Therefore, if we are to employ our educational system intelligently and successfully among peoples who differ culturally from ourselves, we shall have to keep several problems in mind. The first and most important is for us to be absolutely clear in our own minds as to what we as the majority group are trying to accomplish, and why we have certain special objectives.¹⁹

Since the Protestants and Jews do not maintain separate schools, it may be assumed that the public-school system represents their majority point of view. When, however, variant educational systems operate within the community, the question immediately arises: What culture is the whole community's? Today the answer for New Haven is that the public schools, since they are in the majority numerically as schools and in terms of enrollment and families, carry the prevailing whole community culture. If and when the present minority parochial system gains numerical and comparative ascendancy, it will be time to attempt a new answer. This would be doubly clear if the Irish and non-Irish church schools were compared, as representative of the Catholic majority and minority groups in the city.

If the relative majority-minority positions obtaining today were to be reversed, the answer would likewise bear corresponding revision. Population adjustment, church habits, and school practice will have to continue in adjustment before the school picture of the next generation or the next half century can be analyzed. It may be a picture in series with the history of New Haven education, it may be one to demonstrate that new cultural balance has arrived.

The one characteristic of the New Haven school complex of the future that can be foreseen with any certainty is difference from that of the present day. The polite private school, the politically, socially, economically democratic public system, and the parish school presided over by priests and nuns of Irish, Italian, and Polish background—these in their clear-cut and distinctive outlines can be counted upon to change.

¹⁹ *Op cit.*, page 680

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LOOKS AT ITS CRITICS

George A. Retan

For the past several years there has been an increasing amount of criticism of the application of the findings of educational sociology to common school practice. Much of this has been called criticism of progressive education, criticism of the activity movement, and criticism of child-centered education. This criticism has frequently given the philosophy of John Dewey as the source or inspiration of the criticized practices. It may be true that many writers have quoted this philosophy in their justification of the practices they recommended. In the main, however, a more critical examination of the school practices and methods advocated would show that they are based much more on educational sociology than on pragmatic philosophy. Dewey's work at Chicago, which was the outgrowth of progressive work abroad, was primarily a sociological rather than a philosophical experiment. Thus, we may say that the criticism may be examined upon factual and sociological principles and that philosophical backgrounds may be ignored. Moreover, it is not understood as well as it should be that progressive school practice can be just as well associated with the idealistic philosophy as it can with the pragmatic philosophy.

One of the typical examples of such criticism is the Kappa Delta Pi lecture, *The Cult of Uncertainty*, by Dr. I. L. Kandel.¹ This lecture is a good example of the "ivory tower" criticism that quite enrages practical schoolmen. "Ivory tower" criticism may be defined in this case as criticism that exhibits lack of contact with the thing criticized. Men in university chairs too rarely are acquainted with common schools outside the cities, such schools contain the majority of the children in school. Dr. Kandel's book may be taken as typical

¹ New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

since it exhibits most of the inconsistencies or fallacies inherent in such criticism.

One might write this article in a spirit of anger and ask some pertinent questions. The criticism is made that the product of our schools does not know American history as well as did the contemporaries of the critics. Have such critics examined, side by side, *Montgomery's Stories of American History* and the *Barnes American History*, out of which children studied in the 1890's, with a modern graded series put out by any of the reputable publishers, and such as the average school children of today study? Such an examination would, in itself, prove the claim foolish. A more pertinent question might be asked about the claim that schools today do not qualify youth to evaluate our republican institutions. One might ask about the teaching of a generation that sent youth out to organize political machines that do not allow teachers to give good citizenship training—only party training. But it is not the purpose of this article to indulge in such interesting, but perhaps unprofitable, inquiries. The endeavor will be made, rather, to argue from well-established facts and principles.

A major inconsistency in many of the attacks made upon schools today is that while some critics berate the lack of subject-matter command, shown by the graduates of the common schools, others, who are associated with these graduates in battle, give them extreme praise. If the criticism of the product is to have weight, then certainly it has no right to be considered apart from the praise. The question becomes not one of determining whether the praise or the criticism is just, but of determining the relative value of the qualities that are criticized and those that are praised. Along with the criticism from army officers of a lack of reading ability and mathematical ability on the part of the draftees, several accounts from correspondents and from articles written by officers in the field deal with the conduct of members of our army who are graduates of the same schools as those that are involved in the criticism. Forrest Davis, in

an article in *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 19, 1943, quotes General Kenney, at that time Commander of the Fifth Air Force in the southwest Pacific, as saying, "I have, sir, the best damn air force in the world." He says also, "The American is an adaptable cuss," and he goes on to illustrate specifically how boys from the Bronx, Boston, or an Indiana farm met the terrible fighting conditions of the jungles of the Solomons with initiative, courage, and, what is more important, intelligence. General Kenney ends his comment with this statement: "They make me proud of their generation." In a similar article, Captain Thomas L. Gatch of the battleship *South Dakota* gives credit for the showing of his battleship in that marvelous sea battle in which it won immortal glory to the boys who were just out of school, who had never expected to go to war, and who, eighteen months before, had had no sea experience. One could quote article after article similar in tenor paying tributes to the initiative, the courage, and the intelligence of American youth. It would be utter folly to say that the school deserved no praise for the training of these young men.

A second inconsistency in Dr. Kandel's argument, and in similar arguments, is an utter disregard of the growth of American schools in the past thirty years and of the change in the type of youth attending the schools. When the author was supervising principal of a small-town high school, shortly after World War I, it was common practice not to allow individuals who had difficulty in reading and arithmetic to go into high school. Only ten per cent of the possible college population of the country went to college. The high schools of Pennsylvania at that period succeeded in holding on the average less than seventy per cent of the eighth-grade pupils and graduated a very much smaller percentage.^a The high school wanted to deal only with the cream of youth. Today, in the same section of Pennsylvania, the high schools have expanded many, many times. It is

^a George A. Retan, *The Holding Power of High Schools in Pennsylvania*. New York University School of Education, unpublished master's thesis, 1933.

common practice for a town high school to hold over ninety per cent of the eighth-grade population and, even in rural districts, a comparatively large percentage of the eighth-grade graduates get into central high schools for a period of from two to four years. In Pennsylvania in 1941, the ninth grade was almost one hundred per cent of the eighth grade; almost fifty per cent of the number that entered school in 1929 graduated from high school in 1941. The school had to keep the child, previous to the outbreak of the war, until he was seventeen years of age regardless of his mental ability and his capacity to deal with abstract subject matter. In other words, it is absolutely unfair to apply the same standard of average accomplishment to a high school of 1920 and to a high school of 1940. The high-school principals in our better schools make an effort to adapt the curriculum and instruction to the capacities, interests, and abilities of these poorer pupils who cannot possibly deal with the abstract subject matter that is found in the college entrance course. Would the critics refuse such pupils the opportunities of our high schools and revert to the continental caste system of secondary education?

It is just as unfair to say, as Dr. Kandel does, that a high-school teacher of today has to teach too many subjects and is too poorly prepared. The certificate the writer of this article holds and on which he did high-school teaching "back when," is one which is still good in any high school in Pennsylvania and which entitles him to teach German, Latin, all sciences, all mathematics, all social studies, etc. To teach in any of these fields today requires from eighteen to thirty semester hours of college preparation in addition to a similar number of hours in education. As a matter of fact, standards are being increased so rapidly that there is real danger that the small high school will be forced to shut up because it cannot employ a sufficient number of properly certified teachers to meet the State requirements. It may be true that our high-school teachers are not sufficiently well trained. But, certainly the average high-school

teacher in the average high school in 1942 was very much better trained than was the same teacher back in the "golden age" of the critics. If not, then we had better scrap the schools in which many of the critics teach.

Again, it is unfair to lump the graduates of the common schools and high schools of all the States, to take the average, and then to blame all the schools for the poor showing of the average and the poorer pupils. In Georgia, in schools for whites, only thirty per cent of the second grade get into high school while in Pennsylvania the figure is ninety per cent. A fairer question would be: How do inductees of the schools of California and New York State compare with the inductees of Georgia and Alabama? The answer to this question would throw more light on the question of what education today is accomplishing.

The inconsistency in very much of the criticism of schools is based on the false assumption that there is at the present time a considerable number of radically progressive schools. It is very unfortunate that so little discrimination is made between the phrases, progressive schools and progressive methods. It is quite possible for a school to be really progressive in its methods and curriculum and yet be far removed from the progressive school which the "ivory tower" critic has in his mind when he writes of children doing what they want to do and studying what they want to study. As a matter of fact, the number of principals and superintendents who are progressive in their personal philosophy is much smaller than the average college professor imagines. At a recent meeting of some two hundred principals and superintendents, after a talk by Harry Elmer Barnes exposing some of the glaring faults in our social and economic organization, it was quite evident from the lack of applause, and from the comments heard, that the audience was exceedingly conservative. The principal, who has been reared in the old-type conservative school system, is not going to emerge overnight as a radical progressive, even though he may have taken grad-

uate courses at progressive universities. Many thousands of teachers throughout the country are employing in the schoolrooms more progressive methods and practices than their administrative officers would approve of. Many other thousands are prevented from doing this by less liberal administrators. But the percentage of schools that has abandoned the basal textbook, grade organization, and subject-matter class schedules is very, very small.

There is, however, a growing body of young teachers who have recently come from our State teachers colleges and universities, who have become convinced of the greater importance of right attitudes than of factual knowledge. The classic expression of the sociological point of view is found in *Knowledge for What* by Robert S. Lynd.² Those in education, politics, and economics who wish to return to the "golden ages" of McKinley and Coolidge would do well to ponder his analysis of our culture. The old education, just as much as the pragmatism criticized by Kandel, did not know for what it was educating. The idealist at least has a goal in sight, and the educational sociologist has reason to believe that he has a method that is superior to the old individualistic competitive classroom procedure.

Our culture is a group product. Education in any real sense is a group process resulting from group pressures. When Margaret Mead applies the principles of education in a primitive tribe to classroom methods in modern schools, she is on much sounder psychological and sociological ground than are the exponents of the European tradition of a classical learning. The critics of education ignore the very obvious fact that in our present-day culture the school is the only agency that can take over many functions formerly left to the family and the neighborhood group. To do this, the school must, as far as possible, set up an environment in which the child meets social pressures directed toward the inculcation of social qualities that make for group progress.

² Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939

Democracy cannot be taught in a vacuum. It is not a result of drill and factual mastery. No one denies that the facts of American history are very important and that our heritage teaches a magnificent lesson to American youth. But if the child learns all about democracy and freedom but lives in an atmosphere of absolute authority with no opportunity to learn self-control or self-discipline, the lesson is wasted. If, in school, the child has no participation in group organization, administration, or control, what sort of citizen will he be? These observations are indeed platitudes, but, like many others, they are very slowly comprehended in their practical applications. Those of us in school who deal with junior-high-school councils solving problems of class disorder, with a fourth-grade class on the floor in the art room painting a mural inspired by their study of India culture, with a first grade inspired to language use by a trip to the park where they watched the squirrels, deal with children participating in group learning, in social process, in social pressures. Learning, with these children, involves more than mastery of the facts utilized. The pupils learn the facts; never doubt that. But they also learn, through participation in group activities, initiative, leadership, and intelligence. They are happy in their work; school is a pleasant place in which to spend the day.

The teacher in the elementary school and junior high school cannot understand all the sound and fury about philosophy of education. Those of us who are idealists go on serenely in our faith and use progressive practices and Gestalt psychology because they seem psychologically sound and socially good. We do not consider that we cannot teach the child to have faith in ultimate values just as well, or even better, than by obsolete methods. We believe that ideals are dynamic in conduct and strive in our socialized method to develop worthy concepts and inculcate such ideals as social experience has clarified. More we cannot do. Religious teaching is not permitted, even if desirable. To change methods to fit new conditions is not to worship change. The idealist does not deny change except in

ultimates. Perhaps even democracy is not an ultimate, even though the use of ultimate values would much improve our present representative democracy.

Finally, then, teachers in elementary classrooms are utilizing progressive methods because they give results and because they help to solve the difficulties inherent in a situation in which all children stay in school. These teachers give standard tests; they know that their children are working up to capacity. They deal with the emotional misfits coming from the modern American home and salvage a good percentage of the cases. They study their community problems and utilize them in building a curriculum, but they understand as fully as the critics that these contemporary problems have a background in the social heritage to which they must be related. They do not allow children to do what they wish when they wish, but provide a working environment in which children are happy and in which they share a normal group life.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE BROKEN HOME ON ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENT

Paul Torrance

Most of the studies that have been reported on the influence of the broken home appear in the field of juvenile delinquency. Here many other factors complicate the picture—poverty, ignorance, feeble-mindedness, poor general environment, and many others—and in them the real influence of the broken home has not been clear.

It is noticeable that few of the studies dealing with this problem have been concerned with normal school adolescents. Since it is generally recognized that delinquency flourishes during early adolescence and drops off near the end of adolescence, this seems to be an important phase of the entire problem. If boys and girls can be brought safely through this period, their chances of getting along all right seem to be good. The present study was undertaken with the purpose of investigating the incidence of problems among adolescent boys from broken homes, as compared with adolescent boys from normal homes, and with the hopes of finding some implications for their problems in secondary schools.

The population of the survey was 514 adolescent boys enrolled at Georgia Military College for the 1943–1944 term. As this is a combined high school and junior college, the age range covers the entire range of adolescent development. It is an essentially military school and its enrollment comes chiefly from the upper middle class. Here such factors as poverty, gross ignorance, feeble-mindedness, and the like have been eliminated and any differences may be more clearly charged to the broken home situation.

It was found that 144 or 40.5 per cent of 356 boarding students were from broken homes. In the total enrollment of 514 there were 182 or 35.5 per cent from broken homes. The type of broken home found most frequently, contrary to what is usually reported, was that broken by the separation or divorce of the parents with 45.6

per cent of the cases falling into this category. In 37.9 per cent of the cases one parent is dead and in 3.9 per cent of the cases both parents are dead. Fathers in the armed forces number 12.6 per cent, most of them being officers.

In order to compare the behavior and adjustment problems of these boys with boys from apparently normal homes, each of these 182 boys was paired with the first boy on the alphabetical roster with the same I.Q. and approximate chronological age with no duplications being made. Both groups were then analyzed on the basis of records, reports, and the many objective observations possible in such a school program. The problem areas considered were: retardation in school, acceleration beyond normal age, underachievement, overachievement, behavior problems, social problems, health problems. The average I.Q. of the two groups was 104.5 so for practical purposes this factor may be considered "normal."

When the broken-home group was studied alone, the area in which the highest occurrence of problems resulted was for retardation in school and emotional problems, with 96 indicated in each area. The emotional problems in only a very few cases were considered serious, but in each case there had been some observed or reported evidence of unusual emotional upset or tension or emotional instability. Frequency in other areas were: underachievement, 72; social problems, 67; behavior problems, 40; health problems, 15; dishonorable discharges, 15, and no problems, 23.

When this group is contrasted with the paired group, the greatest difference occurs in the area of serious maladjustment resulting in dismissal; there were 15 in this category and none from the paired group and only two others from the remainder of the total school population. The broken home group showed 2.4 times as many cases of retardation as the paired group, 1.8 times as many accelerated, 3 times as many cases of underachievement, 1.83 times as much overachievement, 2.1 times as many exhibited behavior problems, 1.3 times as many emotional problems, 1.3 times as many social

problems, and 3.75 times as many health problems. There were 2.5 times as many in the paired group for whom no problems were recorded as in the broken-home group. The average I Q was, of course, constant, but the average grade for the year showed a slight difference: 76.8 per cent for the broken-home group as compared with 79 per cent for the paired group.

The group from broken homes was then studied for the incidence of problems according to types of broken homes. This data indicates that in general the boy whose parents are separated or divorced is most likely to present the greatest number of problems, with the boy whose parents are both dead coming next. The greatest amount of unusual grade placement occurs where both parents are dead. The highest rate of retardation, however, prevails among boys whose parents are separated or divorced, and most of the overachievement where one or both parents are dead. Boys from homes broken by separation or divorce by far present more behavior problems and practically all of the dishonorable discharges come from this group. There are no very significant differences as to emotional problems but there seems to be a somewhat higher rate indicated for boys whose fathers are now in the armed forces, especially if he is overseas. High rates are also shown for the group whose parents are separated or divorced and whose parents are both dead. Those likely to be bothered by problems of social adjustment come from homes broken by separation or divorce or by the death of both parents.

The 182 boys from broken homes were divided into equal groups according to age. No very great differences were shown, but in every area considered there was consistently a greater frequency of problems observed for the younger group and practically all of the seriously maladjusted resulting in dismissal came from this group.

Both of the groups were analyzed for certain personality characteristics. In the broken home group 46 per cent were considered by observers to have exhibited evidences of lack of self-control; 76 per cent, self-centeredness; 56 per cent, exaggerated tendencies to

anger, 29 per cent, depression; and 31 per cent, lack of sensitivity to social approval. When compared with the normal home group it appears that the characteristic more likely to be shown by the broken-home boy is an exaggerated tendency to anger which is 4.1 times as great for this group as for the paired group. Three and eight-tenths times as many were adjudged as showing self-centeredness; 3.7 times as many, lack of sensitivity to social approval; 2.6 times as many, lack of self-control, and 2.3 times as many, depression.

The data were next studied for the coincidence of problems with the incidence of problems in each area. As might be expected, the boy whose behavior required his dismissal was adjudged to have problems in the greatest number of areas (in 5.9 of the 7 areas on the average). Those with health problems have problems on the average in 4.4 areas. Of probably greater significance is the large number of areas (4.2) in which problems in other areas are coincident with behavior problems. Since no one can fail to recognize these cases as they persistently break school regulations, this should prove helpful to counselors in identifying boys with other problems, probably underlying problems. It is also of almost equal importance to recognize that the boy who is underachieving is likely to have problems in other areas (3.5) and here again such cases can be objectively identified by the use of grades and aptitude test scores. In view of this fact, the prevailing custom in many schools of calling in students who fail is probably justified, provided, of course, the ensuing interview goes far enough to get at the real difficulty.

An analysis of individual cases seems to indicate several important principles in dealing with boys from broken homes. First, in many cases of abnormal behavior in boys from broken homes, the difficulty can be clearly traced to the broken home and its origin can usually be dated from the time of the "split." Recognition of this sometimes helps the boy achieve greater insight into his problems. Second, most cases where there is normal mentality and a normal body seem to readjust at least during the years of later adolescence

if not almost immediately upon transferral to the environment of a military school. Those least likely to succeed are those with extremely low I.Q.'s, extremely poor physical development, physical handicaps, psychopathic personalities, and those whose attendance at a military school is opposed by one of the parents, especially if there is any kind of joint control. The greatest unsettledness is likely to occur at the time of the "split" but is usually gradually relieved. In a very large number of cases the irritant that causes the maladjustment is removed and adjustment comes comparatively easily.

Since the indications are that boarding schools are now faced, as has probably always been true to a lesser extent, with the problem of the adolescent from the broken home, and since the public schools may expect a substantial increase in this type of problem, it is well that we face the problem and see what adjustments can be made.

First, let it be recognized that there are certain features inherent in the system of the military school and many other types of boarding schools that do facilitate the adjustment of the adolescent from the broken home. A list of such features would include: its fair and impartial discipline, its democratic nature and lack of discrimination, its 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week program; its history and tradition and emphasis upon a philosophy of life; its provision for regular hours of study, eating, sleeping, recreation, etc.; the large number of opportunities afforded for the development of responsibility and leadership, and the attainment of independence. The fact that it removes the boy from an undesirable environment to a vigorous wholesome one is also in its favor. Not all, but some of these features can be incorporated into the program of the public-school system. For example, there is no reason why public schools could not arrange to make available their playgrounds and gymnasiums after school hours, on week ends, and vacations. In many cases this would mean the substitution of these healthful, satisfying activities in the place of idleness and bad companions.

Many of the changes or improvements that this study seems to

indicate as essential have been recognized as important or needed, but in actual practice very little has been done about it so far as can be ascertained from reports from all over the country. One of the first of these that seems clearly to be indicated is an enlarged personnel program and a better trained personnel staff to assist these boys and girls to achieve insight into their problems and provide the counseling that would ordinarily be supplied by the home. Such a personnel program should give attention to mild emotional and social problems probably through psychotherapeutic counseling by competent counselors.

A second need clearly indicated is the need for better and more adequate programs of sex education, as it is not reasonable to expect the broken home to do a very good job in this area. This might go so far as the introduction of courses at the senior-high-school and junior-college level on education for marriage to include choosing a mate and the like, or at least to the extent of the integration of such material in regular school courses.

Other suggested improvements and changes would include: an extracurricular activity program that really works and which has a definite part in the whole school program; a program of retraining in the basic skills before the ill effects of the retardation can be overcome; a more complete social program; a more flexible curriculum; and more positive and direct cooperation with local young people's organized groups. All students would of course benefit from the development of these features but they seem to be more intensely needed by the adolescent from the broken home, as the home that is not broken is more likely to fulfill some of these needs.

There definitely seems to be a need for more research on this problem with the use of more objective measures of personality by some instrument such as the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*. Self-rating scales and teacher-rating scales might also shed light on the problem. There also needs to be made some longitudinal studies of adolescent development with follow-ups of later success for boys and girls from broken homes.

HUMAN FACTORS IN RECONVERSION

Forrest H. Kirkpatrick

The fears that are a part of unemployment and insecurity keep reminding us of human factors that are a part of reconversion and demobilization. As a result, Congress is considering proposals to expand unemployment insurance. The War Production Board is absorbed in plans for shifting industry quickly to peacetime production. The army has announced its general program of an orderly and equitable release of some men (the number to be determined later) after the fall of Germany. And industrial personnel men prepare for the inevitable tensions and problems that come with large-scale personnel dislocations.

Meanwhile, there is disagreement and uncertainty regarding the extent of postwar unemployment. Estimates have run as low as 1,000,000 and as high as 15,000,000 unemployed. These conflicting estimates are bewildering unless one realizes that the postwar period will have many phases. There will be a period after "V-E" day, another after "V-J" day, and then the swing into full peacetime economy. Even with the retention of a large armed force on sea, on land, and in the air, even with planned conversion of war industry to peacetime uses, even with the adoption of a most ambitious program of public works, there may still be 10,000,000 men and women faced with unemployment for some time. How much and how long are the questions that present the greatest challenge to American economy—business, labor, and government—since our existence as a nation.

Government officials have reported that the end of the war in Europe would mean a 35 per cent cutback in war production. In a recent issue of the *Survey of Current Business*, published by the Department of Commerce, S. Morris Livingston presents a series of estimates showing the effect upon our economy of a one-third reduction in the output of combat munitions. Such a reduction would be equivalent to 4,200,000 workers, or about 10 per cent of the total

nonagricultural working force. Approximately 2,000,000 additional men may be released from the armed forces. This makes a total of 6,200,000 persons who represent the potential increase in unemployment.

Not all of the youngsters, oldsters, and women who have temporarily joined the labor force as a war measure will probably withdraw. An additional 500,000 are expected to return to the farm or become self-employed. Unemployment will doubtless be avoided for 1,300,000 by reducing the number of hours of those working overtime. After allowing for the above factors, however, there would still remain about 3,400,000 persons who require jobs.

Mr. Livingston estimates that within six months 2,400,000 can be absorbed in the trade and service industries and in plants that require little reconversion because they have continued to make products similar to those produced in peacetime. On the basis of these estimates, the total increase in the number of unemployed would approximate 1,000,000. If these estimates prove to be correct, the magnitude of the problem of placing those laid off from war jobs will be much smaller, at the time of the termination of the war in Europe, than many persons have feared.

To achieve this relatively satisfactory state of affairs, however, it is important that policies be adopted that will speed the resumption of commercial production. Throughout his analysis, Mr. Livingston emphasizes the importance of expediting transitional adjustment. Thus, he points out that "the number actually given jobs in additional production for civilians would obviously depend on the delays encountered in converting productive facilities." Similarly, since this will be a regional problem, with surpluses of labor existing in some areas while scarcities prevail in others, the relative mobility of workers will be important.

The main problem of unemployment, of course, will arise when war production is virtually eliminated with the final termination of

hostilities with Japan. At that time we shall have almost complete demobilization and reconversion. The measures instituted during the months following the defeat of Germany, however, will substantially affect the magnitude of the unemployment problem in the later period. Such measures may also determine a pattern for business, labor, and government to follow in later months.

The significance of our social policy on the size of the total labor force, and consequently the unemployment residual, is indicated by the possibility that several million withdrawals from the labor market might occur if we have a program of government subsidiaries for expanded educational opportunities, increased old-age coverage, and higher benefits, and more liberal family allowances or income tax reductions for dependents making it possible for some women to return to the household who otherwise might not do so.

In any event there is a clear indication that the human factors that are a part of the reconversion period will be many and varied. The uncertainties as to continued use of government-owned facilities, the radical change in the type of labor force, the dilution of supervisory management, the application of "seniority" principle with "ability clauses," race tension, and veteran's preference are some of the issues that will torment the industrial personnel officers. Some steps can be taken at once to prepare for "V-E" day and "V-J" day tasks. Employment estimates can be made, personnel policies can be clarified, procedures for layoff and downgrading can be determined, jobs can be classified and evaluated.

The re-employment of war workers in industries producing civilian goods will call for training. There is some expectancy that many industries producing war goods will return to production that will utilize the single skills of many war workers. Many industries, and especially local plants of large industries which have shifted their operations during the war, may not return to the manufacture of prewar lines. A large segment of war workers desiring to

remain in industrial employment may have to undertake less skilled work, or relocate where a single skill may be in demand, or be re-trained in new skills needed by local industry.

It is important too that all who return to civilian employment be prepared for gainful occupations in agriculture, distributive or service trades, and self-employment. Possibly agriculture will absorb its lost workers more readily than any other field in the early stages of reconversion. In the field of the service trades, however, there is a crying need for trained workers. Automobiles, radios, washing machines, electrical and mechanical devices of all kinds, homes, stores, business buildings, railroads, and almost all such individual business equipment and properties are in dire need of maintenance and repair.

A reasonable expectation would be that in the postwar era the service trades would grow apace as has been the case since the First World War. War workers trained for the service trades might reasonably anticipate relatively permanent employment in such vocations. This would contribute immeasurably to social stability and economic productivity. Mass production and distribution to meet the demands of all Americans will increasingly put efficient distribution at a premium. Individual workers in the highly competitive distributive trades will need training to assure their ability to make an economically valuable contribution. Well-trained workers in the distributive trades may look to profitable continuity of employment in an expanding field for several years.

Many communities have long established adult and continuation educational programs conducted through the local public schools. These programs have been either locally financed in their entirety, or have been financed upon a basis of the community supplying at least fifty per cent of the funds under the George-Dean and Smith-Hughes Acts. More recently, training programs and facilities have been expanded under the federally financed Vocational Training

for War Production Workers, Rural War Production Training, and Engineering, Science, Management War Training programs. Experience of past years, coupled with more recent war worker training programs, places local community leadership in a position to appraise its own prospective situation intelligently.

According to the G. I. Bill of Rights every veteran with reasonably good schooling who went into service before he was 25 or who can show any interference with his education is entitled to a year in college. The Government will pay up to \$500 for his tuition and fees for the school year, and \$50 to \$75 a month for his living expenses. Longer service entitles him to as much as four years in college, studying straight through the calendar year, if he wishes, so as to get a full college course and two years of medicine, law, or graduate study in addition.

The cost of college and university education, then, is no problem, and the veteran need only decide what to study. He already has in sight the widest choice of courses the colleges have ever offered. Most of the colleges are shaping courses and programs to fit the needs of four groups of students from the armed forces. These groups are high-school graduates without college training; those who entered high school, but did not finish; college students; and college graduates. Some colleges will provide short refresher courses and others will invite veterans to take full-time work looking toward professional competence and certification.

Nearly 4,000,000 high-school graduates went into the army and navy immediately after graduating from high school or after working a while. The veteran in this group is as much as four years behind in his studies. But he can catch up. With sufficient length of service, he may equip himself in two to four years to be a radio engineer, a businessman, a doctor, or a lawyer. In some colleges, he can train for a skilled mechanic's job or a post in business in a year or less.

Much has been said about the "square peg in the round hole" as an indication of the need for better vocational guidance and placement. There is reason to believe that it will be one of the human factors that must be considered in the reconversion period. Much needs to be done toward getting ready to do this job properly. We shall need to use such psychological implements as are available but we cannot hope that aptitude tests and interviewing will be sufficient. Better information about specific jobs is badly needed. This calls for job analysis, job specifications, and techniques for appraisal of skills and temperament required. Then, too, we need more information about the occupational outlook in terms of community areas, types of industry, and seasonal variations.

Vocational guidance often must be done in terms of a particular community or area. General information about new developments in plastics, possibilities of airline freight, and machine-tool industries for the Orient does not offer specific help to the young man who must work out his life career in Tulsa, Oklahoma, or Altoona, Pennsylvania. Likewise, such general information is of no real help to the man or woman who is released from an ordnance plant or shipyard. Such persons need specific help as to appropriate job opportunities, training facilities that are available, and the resources of community, industry, or government that may be utilized at once.

The guidance and placement of men and women from the armed services will present some unusual and difficult situations. Some of the young men in the armed services never held a job before they went into the army or navy. They have had little or no understanding of business and industrial operations. Yet they had a varied and active service experience in which life has been lived intensely in some instances and very drably in other instances. The routine and, oftentimes, uninteresting demands of a business or industrial job may be irritating.

In the case of young men who have been serving as commissioned officers in the Air Corps, with pay and allowances far beyond what

they would have made in a civilian job, there will be other problems of adjustment which will affect their attitude toward the job and it may seriously affect their family situation. Life as first lieutenant in the Air Corps is far more interesting and it provides more income than the job usually held by a twenty-five-year-old in a business or industry. Men must be matched with jobs in terms of temperament, attitude, and experience pattern as well as in terms of work skills and abilities.

In the first step, vocational guidance must be concerned with the evaluation of vocational interests and goals in the light of possibilities for reaching such goals. Sometimes personnel or guidance officers must work toward changing these to more appropriate interests and goals. It must also be concerned with making men and women aware of the opportunities and requirements that are a part of the whole "world of work." Then, too, vocational guidance must be done with full recognition that the occupational outlook shifts from year to year and from community to community. Flexibility rather than specificity must be taken into account.

When Bell discusses the community in *Matching Youth and Jobs* he says:

One of the most striking of these facts is that the community is constantly changing. Specialists in occupational research are especially fond of two phrases—"fluid social matrix" and "changing occupational patterns." Besides having a pleasant professional ring, these phrases are packed with meaning for all the agencies involved in the occupational adjustment of the present and future generations of young workers. This social order of ours is a moving, inconstant fluid thing. And likewise the occupational distribution of the working population is subject to endless alteration and often unpredictable change. Thus, it is impossible for the progressive administrators of a social or economic program to take it for granted that yesterday's realities exist today or that today's realities will exist tomorrow. There are few eternal verities in the labor market.

It is not in the broad economic, industrial, and employment problems however that educators and sociologists must be chiefly con-

cerned. The millions of Americans whom we glibly refer to as the "working force" or the "armed services" are not just statistics. They are not simple cogs in a huge industrial or military machine. They are human beings, each with manifold personal, social, and vocational adjustments that must be made in terms of a peaceful society. Family problems, job problems, emotional, health, recreational, home, educational, and social problems—all these and many more will be bound up in the decisions that each one will have to make.

And whether he fought this war in Kansas City or Italy, in San Francisco or in Iceland, in Pittsburgh or in the Solomons, in Detroit or in India, his adjustment problems will be of about the same complexity. The American way of life puts a premium on the individual—on the "human factor"—and in the complexity of problems, tensions, and activities which will come with reconversion and demobilization, personnel officers must be ready to apply wisdom, understanding, and sympathy to the men and women who will be dislocated and in need of help.

CLASSROOM COMMUNIQUE

Conwell Dean Higgins

Introduction

An historian of the American Revolution might carefully consider and weigh the implications of the reactions of Colonial adolescents to that war. In considering the effect of the war upon the schools of that day, one might prefer the original impressions of school children to the statements of generals or members of the assemblies. The same may be true for the Civil War. In this report some observations of a very few adolescents on World War II are given. These statements indicate something of the effect of the war upon themselves, as pupils in the school and as family members. This glimpse of the pupils' reactions to World War II elicited from only a limited number of children can no more reveal this war's effect upon the nation's children than can a cursory examination of a sand grain reveal the extent and character of Miami Beach.

During the school year of 1943-1944, John W. Park, superintendent of schools in Albany, New York, appointed a War Records Committee. This group was charged with the task of collecting, organizing, and preserving material that may reveal the effect of the war upon the schools, as well as material that may indicate the extent of the war effort in the schools.

One particular phase of the committee's work was to determine possible behavior and personality adjustment on the part of the pupils. Each teacher in the system assisted in the work by answering a series of questions on pupil adjustment. This report deals entirely with the efforts of one teacher to learn how the war influenced the thought and work of pupils in two high-school biology classes. The pupils numbered fifty-one and ranged in age from fourteen to seventeen years. The questions presented to the pupils were concerned with (1) the child in school, (2) the child and personal restraint, (3) the child at work, and (4) the child and his friends.

There has been no revision or editing of the children's comments because a smoothing of expression or correction of grammatical construction might alter or obscure the pupil's responses.

The Child in School

The children were asked to describe any changes they may have observed in the content or presentation of subject matter and any changes in their attitude toward school

Seventeen pupils noted little or no change in content or presentation of subject matter. One child remarked.

My teachers, I believe, still teach the same as they did ten years ago, there has been no effect on my school work, as far as I can see. The war is never brought up except, maybe, once in a while in Social Studies.

Thirty-four pupils specified instances in which class discussion or activities were related to the war. Social studies was mentioned with a greater frequency than any other subject. A typical reply follows.

We talked about the war in Social Studies, and the class gave more attention to the present war than to the ancient Romans . . .

As an activity of a language class, one pupil related this fact:

We are sending German story books and pieces of literature to the German prisoners interned in America

The content of the health classes was modified by the war as indicated by this assertion:

In Health class we discuss all the new drugs and medicines that have been used in this war.

That the war effort was used as an incentive, goad, or whip by at least one teacher was suggested by several comments. One statement was:

One teacher reminds us everytime we do not do our own work that we are loafing while our boys are fighting in distant lands.

Specific and minute illustrations of the practicality of subject matter may have dissolved the evident skepticism of the pupil who wrote:

School subjects and war History is supposedly good for teaching us to be better citizens in the future, how to live peacefully without war How? Tell me! In English, if we learn English grammar, we can be better soldiers, so it's said French is supposedly useful in the Army. How? except in a very few branches—translators?

Such questions may well challenge teachers to carefully appraise their subject material before justifying content on the basis of use in particular situations.

Children's Attitude toward School

Several pupils (seven) made no comment on their attitude toward school, others (seven) stated their attitude was not affected by the war while a like number asserted that their schoolwork had suffered One pupil explained his changed viewpoint in this wise:

My interest in school has definitely decreased because I have been used to doing more work in school but now it is left up to us to do more at home. And we find sometimes it is better to work and make the money and forget about school while the war is on.

Emotional unbalance may be suggested by the statement:

War movies and radio stories affect my thinking and I can't keep my mind on my school work because it's (the war) constantly on my mind

Nearly sixty per cent of the pupils felt that they were giving more attention and had more interest in schoolwork because of this disaster that has come upon us.

The basis of increased interest in school may be a plexus of self-interest, relatives in the service, patriotism, and postwar opportunities. These varying motives are evident in these statements

The war has changed my ideas about school considerably because now that there is a war, in a few years I may be able to go into the service and the knowledge gained in school will help in a great way for promotion

. . . with two brothers in the armed services, it kind of gives you an urge to help somehow.

I liked school before the war. But now I don't care for it so much as I can go and find a job and earn good money. Then I think to myself, "What will I do after the war is won with just a little education?" So I am going to complete my education and then compare myself with a girl I know who left school.

The teacher of the two classes judged that the responses of the pupils reflected rather well the interest exhibited by the pupils in their schoolwork.

The Child and Personal Restraint

Of the fifty-one pupils, twenty-eight reported that war conditions had not been responsible for changes in their freedom. One terse comment was:

Still the same restrictions and discipline.

One child explained:

I don't go out even though I can, because I think I should help my mother as much as possible. My father is in the Service.

While the majority reported no change in restraints, sixteen declared that they were more free than formerly. Just one child said that the parents were too busy to give any thought to his actions.

That one parent avoided the "Thou shalt not . . ." injunction in extending the amount of freedom is suggested by this statement:

I am now able to go to the movies whenever I would like to, unless . . . I have gone once already that week.

Most of the responses indicated that the children felt their greater freedom was due to their becoming more mature, and not due to this current upheaval. This point of view is shown by the response:

I am less restrained, I am able to do more things that I want to. I have more clothes and money, not too much though.

Several children (seven) asserted that their activities had been

curbed. Reasons for less freedom were given by two pupils. One remarked:

I think my (free) hours have shortened because of more duties and more school work.

One pupil expressed his thoughts with telegraphic brevity:

Used to be my own boss, now bed at ten.

Viewed as a whole, the pupils experienced very little easing of parental restraints, suggesting that the parents of these children were not too drastically upset by the war.

The Child At Work

Pupils who worked outside of school totaled thirty-five. These individuals worked an average of seventeen hours per week and earned an average of \$9 20. That many of the job opportunities were out of line with conditions during the 1930's and due to the war was recognized by the pupil who wrote:

The war has given me more jobs outside. If the war should end tomorrow, I would have no job.

A statistical breakdown of hours, pay, and type of employment was not made

The Child and His Friends

The pupils were asked, "Have you observed any changes in the behavior or emotional stability of your friends which may be explained by the war?"

Several (nine) replies were negative while two individuals noticed both favorable and unfavorable reactions on the part of their friends. One third of the responses (seventeen) noted that their friends' behavior or emotional stability had suffered as a result of the war. No specific cases were discussed by the pupils, only generalizations were made which are illustrated by the following:

Well, some of the girls and boys have changed a lot, not better but worse. I think the uniforms are mostly the reason.

Most boys about 15, 16, 17, adults, even large numbers of girls are unsettled, have no idea about the future. I, myself, am very undecided.

In contrast to the above replies, twenty-three pupils felt that their friends and acquaintances were becoming more serious and mature. In this instance, a variety of reasons were suggested for the change in outlook; these reasons included the desire to prepare for the armed services, the feeling of new responsibilities and consideration of the country's future, and loss of friends and relatives.

Yes, many boys I know have been working harder to get fit for the service.

... affected because they live in a free decent land and they sometimes wonder if it will stay clean and democratic and hope their children will not have to go to war "

Conclusion

In summarizing, the reactions of the boys and girls of the two classes are alone considered. Rash, indeed, would be the individual who attempted to characterize the effect of the war upon the pupils of even one school.

A brief consideration of the responses leads at once to the realization that the pupils' behavior and reaction was varied and contradictory. From the group's experience, one may resolve a few generalizations from the welter of diverse experience. It may be asserted that, as a group, the pupils worked harder in school, the pupils still experienced guidance from their parents, the children were wage earners, and the pupils' friends were more serious.

The children were crossing the tenuous span to adulthood and, in certain instances, gave evidence that they were observant travelers. A qualified social prognosis might be this: The majority of the children, taking in stride the confusing maze of present-day stimuli, may well mature into citizens of merit and responsibility.

BOOK REVIEWS

Current Conceptions of Democracy, by JOHN R. BEERY. New York. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 110 pages.

It seems to the reviewer that Beery's exploration of the meanings of democracy accepted by the members of a politically and socially oriented democracy is a most significant contribution to education. From Herbert Spencer to Alfred Zimmern the popular origin and practices of democratic feelings and practices and concepts have been recognized. But seldom if ever has any one gone beyond intuition and general observation to get at the facts, as the author has done.

Beery here reveals the major points of agreement and disagreement in the interpretations of ordinary people who use the word democracy. Having established an instrument—three alternative questionnaire forms—for ascertaining what people believe that democracy implies, he tested graduate students in education, businessmen, essayists, evangelists of democracy, cooperativists, and farmers. Unsuccessful efforts were made to get sufficient returns from labor leaders and from girl factory workers, but presumably the questionnaire form and the abstract nature of the sentences and ideas presented were too unfamiliar to them.

For those groups whose references were frequent enough to justify conclusions a happily surprising consensus of agreement was found.

"The large body of democratic theory on which the vast majority of the respondents are in essential agreement may be organized under the heads of respect for the individual, equality, reliance on intelligence and rational methods, liberty, faith in the common man as the source of power, and duties and obligations of the democratic citizen. The disagreements were especially prevalent in the economic area and in the matter of practical applications of general principles.

"The existence of areas of disagreement implies the need for public discussion and consultation seeking to reconcile the opposing views. The existence of inconsistencies in the statements approved by a given respondent implies the desirability of emphasis on an organized, comprehensive, and consistent system of beliefs about democracy."

It is hoped that further research will follow the line here set out. Approvable indoctrination in democratic ideas and attitudes might well in-

clude the widespread use of these questionnaires among American youths and adults.

American Democracy and Secondary Education, by KENNETH D. NORBERG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 130 pages.

Norberg presents the results of "a study of some tendencies and conceptions of youth education in the United States." He explores first the backgrounds of the problem, historical and contemporary; next, the current innovations in the secondary school; then two chapters presenting the case for a subject curriculum, espoused by "essentialists" and the challenge of the "intellectualists," respectively; and finally, his own evaluations and tentative program for the education of youth.

For the most part, this wheat has been well threshed by educational philosophers and practitioners before Norberg's study was made. It would be too much to expect him to throw much new light on the problem.

Nevertheless, he has made a real contribution to a sound orientation. His scalpel exposes the cloistered character of some "progressive" proposals and practices as freely and effectively as it does that of "essentialists" and medievalists.

This dissertation was prepared under the sponsorship of the department of philosophy; it is not surprising that it deals with ideas. But it is regrettable that the writer gives little indication that he is familiar with actual practices of good high schools which in some aspects are so far in advance of the oft-quoted prophets of progressivism as to make his fears and reservations groundless.

Like science and technology, school processes also are carried on in concrete social settings that affect not only the immediate ends to which they are employed but also the methods by which these instruments are modified and improved (cf., page 99). In an empirical democracy, the school curriculum is so vivid that often neither philosophers nor teachers know it is going on; a very few alert parents glimpse it and attempt to control its excesses; youths themselves grasp much of its reality and significance, somewhat intuitively, but more by acceptance of the code of youth.

To these young people the problems of "curriculum" that worry Norberg and those philosophers he quotes are just jobs to do to get credits so

as to graduate—or at least stay in school. To youth, there are other goals of far more immediate and of far longer term importance!

The Condition of Man, by LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1944, x + 467 pages.

This is the third volume in Mumford's series on human nature and culture. The others are *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities*. A rich history of religions, philosophies, scientific and technical trends, conceptions of life, love and work, domestic and social practices, aesthetic works and theories, psychological theories, political theories and practices. Civilizations from the Greek era to our own are shown as a moving tapestry whose parts are marvelously interwoven and whose past practices are far from lost in the present. The philosophy underlying Mumford's approach is a doctrine of organic humanism. Mumford judges practices and theories in terms of their life-fulfilling or life-negating effect or possibility. Work and love which fulfill the individual through participation in the community (eventually the world community) are his standards. But the human personality itself is the highest of values to be achieved, and we must begin with this value in building a new world order.

Personal Aggressiveness and War, by E. F. M. DURBIN and JOHN BOWLBY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, 150 pages.

The theory expounded in this book develops as a result of the logical train of thought that war is organized fighting and fighting is a universal form of human behavior transcending the borders of humanity into types of mammals most closely related to the common ancestors of man and apes, and therefore the general causes of war are only to be found in the causes of fighting. Since fighting is not continuous in time but reverts to consequent periods of peaceful cooperation, the problem resolves itself into how this peaceful cooperation is to be preserved against the universal tendency it has to culminate in periods of war.

The causes of fighting are analyzed in their simpler forms in children and animals with the resulting deduction that the behavior of adults shows no improvement by comparison. In fact, recent world events are a clear manifestation that no group of animals could be more ruthless or aggressive than the adult members of the human race. The differences

between the aggression of primitive beings and adult men as suggested by the authors are that adult aggression is normally a group activity growing out of political organizations, economic classes, religious denominations, or nation states, coupled with the powers of imagination and reason which the adult brings to the service of the aggressive intent.

From the psychoanalytic point of view, the primary causes of adult aggression are identical with those of children and apes. There is no material change in character as the individual grows older. The aggressive child is controlled by some form of authority which produces further frustration, resulting in conflict in the child, which is the original source of aggressiveness in the adult. Characters are formed by a simple aggressiveness that has been controlled but not destroyed.

Displacement, the transference of fear, hatred, or love from the true historical object to the second object, serves the individual by frequently resolving the confusion and strain of an ambivalent relation to a safer object. Projection, on the other hand, consists in imagining that other individuals are really like our own unrecognized and unaccepted selves, a mechanism which superimposes our own character upon others. Such a behavior mechanism leads to a form of paranoia in which not only the real but also the imaginary moral judgments and legal restraints are strongly resented. Group life gives sanction to personal aggressiveness imbuing groups with destructive power, building up structures of intellectual reasoning, rationalizing impulses, and justifying hatred.

The specific and most generally considered causes of war are treated at greater length but along thought patterns as follows.

Capitalism as a cause of war is highly improbable since it is an historical type of system not more than three hundred years old.

Class conflict and economic reasons are possible causes of war since both are co-extensive in time with war, the ruthless acquisitiveness of nations representing the emergence at the group level of primitive individual behavior.

Nationalism cannot be considered a theory but merely as a behavioristic generalization. It does not explain why groups become aggressive but presupposes that once a group is formed it will fight. The element of truth here is that war, since the triumph of aggressive impulses will always manifest itself in a group form, and, since the great group organization of the age is the nation state, can be very logically due to nationalism.

Mr. Durbin and Mr. Bowlby offer two possible solutions to the prob-

lem of how the prevention of war may be affected. The first and extremely challenging proposal is that human beings be changed. The second, that their aggressiveness be restrained, would seem to be far less elusive.

In their conclusion the authors maintain that war is endemic but not incurable as a disease of human society, and that the only possible protection against war is a strong organ of collective security.

Rehabilitation of the War Injured, a symposium by WILLIAM BROWN DOHERTY and DAGOBERT D. RUNES, ed. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943, 684 pages.

The National Council on Rehabilitation defines rehabilitation as "the restoration of the handicapped to the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, and economic usefulness of which they are capable." The fifty-three subjects discussed in this book by recognized authorities in neurology and psychiatry, reconstructive and plastic surgery, orthopedics, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, and vocational guidance consider primarily the restoration of the war injured to the fullest physical usefulness of which they are capable. This symposium can be highly recommended to physicians and surgeons and physical and occupational therapists who are interested in the medical aspects of rehabilitation.

The Craftsman Prepares to Teach, by DAVID F. JACKEY and MELVIN L. BARLOW. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, 184 pages.

The skilled mechanic suddenly called upon to impart his know-how to a trade class wonders, a little fearfully, how to go about it. He may be directed to *The Craftsman Prepares to Teach* for help in planning his course; the principles of organization are so plainly put and so amply illustrated, in terms of shop subjects, that he may grasp them in private study. But the second and shorter section of the book, which undertakes to explain the techniques of classroom teaching and which is full of sound doctrine, is too heavily freighted with educational jargon to be intelligible to the mechanic and so will be useful only as a text in a teacher-training class.

A Conception of Authority, by KENNETH D. BENNE, Ph.D. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943, 227 pages.

All who are socially aware share with Dr. Benne his concern with the

great problem of our era: How authority and the relationships growing out of authority can be developed in order to benefit both the individual and the society in which he lives.

The author systematically reviews the literature of this subject and presents the thinking of scores of great and near-great sociologists, educators, psychotherapists, and philosophers in admirably objective fashion. Yet, he does not hesitate to say that the authoritarian patterns in our relationships must go if our society is to develop democratically; authority must be rooted in democratic method rather than in pressures created by individuals or self-interested groups.

The Counselor's Approach to the Home and *The Counselor's Interview with the Student*, by NORMAN FENTON. California: Stanford University Press, 1944, 32 and 36 pages.

The School Case Work Manuals I and II issued recently by Norman Fenton inject a practical note in the counselor's field. Pamphlets such as these emphasize the most important factor in guidance: The understanding of the individual, a factor often submerged in the pressures of daily counseling.

In *The Counselor's Approach to the Home*, procedures in developing satisfactory social history material are thoroughly analyzed and an outline for practical use is included. A sample case history designed to summarize material for use in treatment will preclude any tendency of counselors to make hasty judgments upon insufficient background material.

The Counselor's Interview with the Student is a valuable manual that presents not so much a new approach as it does a re-emphasis upon the philosophy that guidance counselors must retain as the integral factor in any school program. The student interview must: (1) consider the student problem from his viewpoint; (2) understand the student with a fullness of knowledge; and (3) help the student in self-interpretation and treatment of his problem.

Both manuals furnish selective bibliographies for the inquiring counselor. The pamphlets are practical without ignoring theory, reasonable in suggestive procedures for the busy counselor, and enlightening without being ponderous in material.

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THE YOUTH PROBLEM TODAY. AN EDITORIAL*

"What have we gained if we win the war and lose our own children?" This vital question faces every community. In spite of all the talk, some of it exaggerated, about increasing juvenile delinquency, there is evidence that the average American community is not youth conscious. The interests of young people are usually placed second to many other considerations, such as institutional budgets, the convenience of school custodians, the pleasures of parents, conflicts and jealousies among community agencies, vested interests in jobs, and a thousand other adult concerns.

In few communities is there an over-all plan for meeting youth problems, which include not only juvenile delinquency but health, recreation, religion, education, and vocational adjustment. In America, unfortunately, these problems have usually been attacked by thousands of scattered efforts with little attempt at integration. The result has been untold waste and duplication with a large part of the needs unmet. This has grown out of the individualism inherent in the frontier stages of the development of any nation. It must be replaced by careful planning which will supplant wasteful and aimless competition with the positive advantages that come

* Adapted from a statement prepared by Frederic M. Thrasher for the American Women's Voluntary Services, a forward-looking organization interested in the national sponsorship of coordinated community programs for youth service.

through expertness, cooperation, and integration of efforts in the solution of our youth problem.

The development of the community council, whatever its exact name, is the most hopeful sign in this field. A real community council, however, must not be monopolized by social workers whose approach to these problems is directed solely by technical considerations. To be effective, a community council must include representatives of all social organizations in the community. This is the democratic method. Anything short of this broad base of representation is foredoomed to failure. Every important social force in the community must be harnessed in the interest of youth.

An over-all plan to meet the problems of youth is indicated not only in the local community, but on a State-wide and a national basis. Thousands of individual communities have neither the interest nor the resources to organize and develop adequate programs. A State Youth Service Commission, attached to the Executive Department, promises to provide the stimulating, organizing, and research services that local communities need. Furthermore, a national group, representative of all youth interests, can serve as an over-all clearing house for information and may be able to provide expert field services to assist in State and local programs.

This issue of *THE JOURNAL* has been planned to cover some of the essentials of planning and practice in the field of coordination for youth service. In early articles are presented some of the principles and examples of different types of community programs designed to meet youth needs by coordinated community effort. Coordination on the local level is considered first because of its primary importance. In the last analysis children and young people must have their problems solved in the neighborhoods and communities in which they live. And the soundness of State and national programs can only be measured in terms of their eventual impact upon the lives of young people in their local places of residence, school, play, and work. Dozens of other interesting programs and experi-

ments in this field are being carried on throughout the country, but only a few can be presented here.

Next, examples are given of two State programs, one already developed in California, the other proposed in New York. Limitations of space did not permit articles on the contribution of the valuable State programs in Illinois and Michigan, both of which States have pioneered in this field.

Finally, some consideration is given to the necessity for over-all planning on a national basis.

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

Part I. Coordination on the Local Level

SOME PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING COMMUNITY COORDINATION

Frederic M. Thrasher

While public and professional interest in community coordination for youth service has many roots, a major source of what has now become a widespread movement in America has been a deep concern on the part of many agencies and individuals for a more effective program aimed at the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime. Many of the earlier efforts at coordination frankly carried the words "crime prevention" or "delinquency prevention" in their titles or their statements of major purpose. More recently the trend has been to state the basic goals of these programs in terms of youth conservation or youth service, thus placing emphasis upon the development of a wholesome and constructive program for young people which would incidentally build morale for the "vulnerables" or potentially delinquent and which could include special techniques for children and adolescents requiring more than ordin-

ary adjustments, while placing major emphasis upon serving fully the basic recreational and other needs of normal young people.

In attempting to formulate some of the principles underlying coordination for youth service then, it is necessary to have two purposes in mind: First, the community program must be aimed at meeting the needs of normal young people, varying as they do in race, nationality descent, religion, mental level, and economic and cultural backgrounds; and, second, it must be so devised that the special needs of the so-called "vulnerables" and "pre-delinquents" may also be met, preferably by techniques fully integrated and not necessarily apart from constructive programs planned for the average young people.

American communities and the people who live in them usually resent the use of the word "delinquent" as applied to their children or young people, partly because they think it is a reflection upon their homes, schools, churches, and local governmental agencies, but also because there is a growing feeling that it is never the child who is delinquent, but rather the parents, the institutions, the community, or all three. Furthermore, it is difficult in individual cases to draw the line between the delinquent and the nondelinquent. Legally a child is delinquent or an adolescent is a youthful offender when so adjudged by a court. Nevertheless, the child or the adolescent who commits the same act, but whose case is not handled by a court is technically an unofficial delinquent or offender. In such cases his offense may be known only to family, friends, social agencies, the police, or indeed only to the child himself. It is quite likely, moreover, that all children and adolescents have committed acts for which they could be technically designated as delinquents or youthful offenders. These difficulties of definition give even more point to approaching these problems from the standpoint of youth conservation and youth service, rather than from that of the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime.

The socially disapproved conduct of young people, however

(including such acts as vandalism, stealing, patronizing the black market, rowdiness, drinking, truancy, sexual indiscretions, and many lesser and greater misdeeds) continues to be an acute problem, whatever its causes and its rationalizations, even in communities where the use of opprobrious epithets is most deeply resented. Any program of youth service, therefore, devised in these communities, "overprivileged" or "underprivileged" alike, should be especially pointed up to serve the needs of this critical group, while at the same time meeting its full obligation to the "normal" young people.

Because of their primary importance, it is desirable to present first the principles underlying an effective program of delinquency prevention in the local community in order to make sure that they are included in and reconciled with the broader principles of an integrated community program for youth service.

Scientifically minded students of these problems are well aware of the basic principles underlying a successful program for the prevention of delinquency, which aims at stopping the development of criminal careers before they get started. These principles have been worked out in such programs as the coordinating councils on the Pacific Coast,¹ the area projects in Chicago,² the work of the

¹ See Kenyon J. Scudder, "The Coordinating Council at Work," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1936, pp. 70-71, Kenneth S. Beam, "Coordinating Council Progress," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1938, pp. 308-326, "Coordinating Council Manual: Mobilizing and Organizing the Community," *Community Coordination* (September-October, 1940), pp. 1-22, *A Guide to Community Coordination* (Los Angeles: Coordinating Councils, Incorporated, 1941), and numerous articles on community coordination for delinquency prevention in *Community Coordination* and *The Coordinator* (periodicals). The article by Herman G. Strick on p. 435 in this issue of *THE JOURNAL* also touches on the work of the California coordinating councils.

² See Ernest W. Burgess, Joseph D. Lohman, and Clifford R. Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1937, pp. 8-28, Clifford R. Shaw and Jesse A. Jacobs, "The Chicago Area Project" (mimeographed report), about 1939, 15 pages, Fred A. Romano, "Organizing a Community for Delinquency Prevention," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1940, pp. 1-12, Edward Haydon, "Community Organization and Crime Prevention," *Yearbook of the National Probation Association*, 1942, pp. 23-35, and Clifford R. Shaw, "Memorandum on Juvenile Delinquency," Exhibit 4, pp. 540-547, *Hearings before U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education, Juvenile Delinquency I* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944).

Industrial Areas Foundation,⁸ the United States Children's Bureau delinquency prevention program in St. Paul, Minnesota,⁴ the area projects of the Cleveland Group Work Council,⁵ the Manhasset (New York) Youth Council,⁶ and the current experiment taking place in East Harlem⁷ (a local area in Manhattan, New York City), as well as other numerous neighborhood and community programs throughout the United States.⁸

Many of the principles underlying community programs for delinquency prevention have been stated in the studies and reports made in connection with the above named projects. Some of the earliest pronouncements made along these lines are to be found in the literature of the coordinating council movement. A pioneer in formulating these principles was Harry M. Shulman in his studies made for the Sub-Commission on Causes of the New York State Crime Commission from 1927 to 1930.⁹ In 1930 he pointed out the importance of organizing preventive work on a neighborhood

⁸ See testimony of Saul D. Alinsky in *Hearings before U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education, Juvenile Delinquency 2* (Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 1577-1589, Saul D. Alinsky, *Basic Crime Prevention* (mimeographed report, 21 pages), Saul D. Alinsky, "A Departure in Community Organization," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies* (January 1940), pp. 36-48, and Gretta Palmer, "Back of the Yards, Inc.," *Coronet* (November 1942), pp. 55-60.

⁴ Katherine F. Lenroot, "Delinquency Prevention through School and Social Agency Coordination," *Educational Forum* (November 1943), pp. 11-15.

⁵ Mildred S. Esgar, "Area Projects in Cleveland," in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, p. 425.

⁶ See Frederic M. Thrasher, "Prevention of Delinquency in an Over Privileged Community," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies* (April 1944), pp. 96-106, Jay Jostyn, "The Manhasset Youth Council," in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, p. 417, and the *Youth Council Year Book 1944* (mimeographed brochure, which may be obtained at 25 cents from the Manhasset Youth Council, 36 Sound View Crest, Manhasset, N. Y.).

⁷ See this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, p. 439.

⁸ See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936), *Yearbooks of the National Probation Association, 1936-1944, Hearings before U. S. Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education, Juvenile Delinquency 1 and 2* (Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944), publications of the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., publications of the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., and publications of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

⁹ These studies are summarized in *Crime and the Community, a Study of Trends in Crime Prevention by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime* (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1930).

basis; that is, a "work unit large enough to include the life of a social group or an economic class, and small enough to deal with the forces that are primary in character formation."¹⁰

Many of the principles, enunciated by Shulman as a result of his studies from 1927 to 1930, have since been put into practice in scattered programs of delinquency prevention, but in general the type of program he has proposed has not yet been tried in any thoroughgoing way.

One conclusion of the Boys Club Study,¹¹ directed by the author, was that "no one preventive agency could prevent crime, even in the sense of heading off incipient criminal careers, and that it was necessary to develop some sort of concentration of responsibility for a community program which would coordinate and integrate the crime preventive activities of all agencies involved in dealing with this type of problem.

"These principles were definitely formulated and the outline of a crime-prevention program was worked out at the request of the East Harlem Council of Social Agencies. This program was presented to the Council in the spring of 1931. . . ."

These basic principles as formulated in 1931 are essentially as follows:¹²

A. General purpose To develop a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program to incorporate all children in the delinquency

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹ The Boys Club Study, financed by the Bureau of Social Hygiene and carried on under the auspices of New York University, was an attempt to measure the delinquency preventive effects of a large boys' club. The organization and methods of the study are set forth in the September 1932 issue of *THE JOURNAL*. A summary of the findings and recommendations of the study is contained in *The American Journal of Sociology* for July 1936, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," pp. 66-80.

¹² The East Harlem Council of Social Agencies took no action on these principles when they were presented to that organization in 1931. Since that date they have been restated by the author without essential modification in an article, "Juvenile Delinquency and Crime Prevention" in the April 1933 issue of *THE JOURNAL*, pp. 500-510, in "The Problem of Crime Prevention" in the *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1934, pp. 6-23, in "The Lower West Side Crime Prevention Program, New York City," pp. 46-67, in Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck, *Preventing Crime* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936), and in "Reaching Crime Causes by Coordinated Action" in the *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1936, pp. 1-23.

area, especially all the maladjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as all other normal needs.

Means to the achievement of this purpose

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention in the local delinquency area (a problem of community organization)
2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up-to-date as a basis for an initial and progressively developing crime-prevention program, including thoroughgoing child accounting for the whole community.
- 3 Utilization of services and cooperation of all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization).
- 4 Application of the preventive program systematically to all children in the delinquency area of the local community, to groups as well as to individuals.
5. Changing, by means of concerted community action, community conditions discovered to be demoralizing to individuals or groups of children and adolescents. Continuing investigation of community conditions and facilities.
- 6 Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organizations wherever definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization).
- 7 Education of the community and the public generally to understand and support the program

The above plan for a coordinated community program of delinquency prevention was included as a fundamental recommendation of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York transmitted to the State Legislature in 1939.¹⁸ J. B. Maller summarizes and condenses the plan as follows in this recommendation:

Thrasher has outlined a plan for crime prevention aiming at the concentration of responsibility for crime prevention through cooperation, coordination, and integration of activities. He proposes the organization

¹⁸ *Report of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Jurisdiction of the Children's Courts, known as Children's Court Jurisdiction and Juvenile Delinquency Committee*, March 20, 1939, Legislative Document (1939), 75 (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1939), pp. 240-241.

of a Leisure Time Conference, which may be a permanent council of social agencies or an independent community organization initiated by the public schools, police department, Juvenile Court, recreation department, and others. The organization, to be composed of all agencies whose cooperation is essential to a program of community coordination, would have a small executive committee, a qualified executive, and an adequate staff.

The proposed organization would have five major functions:

a. Research. Basic census of all families and children in each block of the area, their recreational and other contacts; collection of data basic to detection of potential delinquents, and data on all wholesome and unwholesome influences in the area. Data to be obtained from school census, Social Service Exchange, house-to-house canvass, special investigations by staff. Try-out of new methods of approach

b. Clearance or Exchange. All above data to be kept up to date and to be made available for research and case work.

c. Integrated Services. Concentration upon groups of young people (such as gangs) not reached effectively by existing social structures, integration and supplementation of services of varied social agencies to meet individual needs of problem children, planning a new alignment of services and a new plan in cases where present agencies fail to meet needs.

d. Case Work. Mobilization of case-work agencies for specialized and difficult cases, clinical help and maximum services to families of delinquents, or those likely to become delinquent.

e. Changing of Community Conditions. Plan to provide wholesome environmental conditions in the neighborhood through the removal of slums¹⁴

In the fall of 1943 plans were made for the development of an experiment in delinquency prevention to be carried out in a selected local area of East Harlem (a district located in Manhattan's Upper East Side, New York City) under the joint sponsorship of New York University School of Education and the Twenty-third Precinct Coordinating Council of the New York City Police Department. In preparation for this project, whose official title was "A Workshop in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," the author

¹⁴ J. B. Maller, "Part II, Maladjusted Youth: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency," *ibid.*, pp. 240-241.

made a restatement of some of the principles underlying an effective program of delinquency prevention as follows:

1. The unit for a real crime-prevention program, which "nips the criminal career in the bud," is the local area or local community. The police precinct in New York City is too large for effective work of this type; it must be broken down into smaller natural areas rather than follow large administrative districts.

2. To carry on a successful program of delinquency prevention in one of these local areas, it is necessary that there be a concentration of responsibility for this particular function and no other function. Such a concentration of responsibility may be centered in a special section or subcommittee of a community or a coordinating council, a delinquency prevention division of a council of social agencies, a community recreation committee, the school system, a committee for delinquency prevention, but in any case the main responsibility of the body must be delinquency prevention.

3. The delinquency prevention committee or council, whatever it is called, must perform certain essential functions as follows:

a) It must be able to get the facts together in order to know the nature and extent of delinquency and its causes in the local area

b) It must be able to coordinate and organize the various preventive forces already existing in the community so that they may work more effectively.

c) It should be in a position to stimulate the development of new agencies where the present agencies are inadequate to deal with the problem of prevention.

d) The work of such an agency may be divided into three parts:

(1) Adjustment of individual delinquents. This is carried on cooperatively by representatives of the schools, the courts, the clinics, and other agencies dealing with maladjusted children and pre-delinquents. Case-work agencies do the case work

(2) Stimulation, organization, and coordination of character-building agencies. This function has to do largely with organizing leisure-time activities for children and young people under proper supervision and leadership utilizing all available facilities and creating new facilities where facilities are inadequate. Its major problem is one of coordination and leadership.

(3) Improving the environment. This function deals with such problems as the sale of liquor to minors, demoralizing dance halls and pool-

rooms, and other influences of that nature which affect children in the local community

4 An effective local program of delinquency prevention must be carried on by the people who live in the area. They must participate in planning and carrying out the program with the advice of experts who have had experience along these lines. A program that can be made indigenous to the community is better than one superimposed from the outside. The Chicago area projects are an example of this procedure.

5 Constant attention must be given to public relations in order to maintain cordial relations with the community agencies, the citizens, the parents, and the children and young people in the area. Credit for accomplishments should be given to local agencies and persons who will form the backbone of the program.

The final statement of the objectives of the workshop issued before it was actually initiated was boiled down to the performance of the following functions: (1) getting the facts to provide a sound research foundation for the program, (2) mobilization of all preventive agencies, (3) improvement of the environment, (4) adjustment of individual delinquents, and (5) developing friendly public relations.

This statement of underlying principles may be compared with statements made in connection with a few other programs. Limitations of space prevent exhaustive comparisons. About 1939 Clifford R. Shaw pointed out that the Chicago Area Project had seven characteristics distinguishing it from established institutions, not so much in the content of the program as in the methods used to foster local neighborhood activities:

1) It emphasizes the development of a program for the neighborhood as a whole. 2) It seeks to stress the autonomy of the local residents in helping to plan, support, and operate constructive programs which they may regard as their own. 3) It attaches special significance to the training and utilization of community leaders. 4) It confines the efforts of its professional staff, in large part, to consultation and planning with responsible neighborhood leaders who assume major roles in the actual development of the program. 5) It seeks to encourage the local residents to utilize to the

maximum all churches, societies, clubs, and other existing institutions and agencies, and to coordinate them in a unified neighborhood program. 6) Its activities are regarded primarily as devices for enlisting the active participation of local residents in a constructive community enterprise, for creating and crystallizing neighborhood sentiment on behalf of the welfare of the children and the social and physical improvement of the community as a whole 7) It places particular emphasis upon the importance of a continuous, objective evaluation of its effectiveness as a device for reducing delinquency, through constructive modification of the pattern of community life.¹⁵

In describing the delinquency prevention program which has been embodied in the experimental child-welfare program in St. Paul, Minnesota, carried on under the auspices of the Children's Bureau in cooperation with community agencies, Katherine F. Lenroot states the two basic objectives of the program as follows:

- 1) The early identification and treatment of children with personality and behavior problems, including delinquency; and
- 2) The development and integration of existing social and welfare facilities directed toward the needs of the children.¹⁶

In its *Community Program for Controlling Delinquency*,¹⁷ the Children's Bureau states the goals for a complete program of community action as: "1) strengthening of resources needed by all children, 2) protection of groups of children especially vulnerable to delinquency, 3) control of harmful influences in the community, and 4) services for the delinquent child and the child with behavior problems. All these activities depend for their effectiveness on sound organization and procedures."

Recently Harry M. Shulman¹⁸ has formulated an interesting (unpublished) plan of organization of local community coordinat-

¹⁵ Mimeographed report on the Chicago Area Project by Clifford R. Shaw and Jesse A. Jacobs, pp. 7, 8.

¹⁶ "Delinquency Prevention through School and Social Agency Co-ordination," *Educational Forum* (November 1943), p. 11.

¹⁷ United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication 301 (Washington, D. C. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 4.

¹⁸ Now of the Department of Sociology of the College of the City of New York.

ing councils for the Mayor's Committee on Delinquency Prevention, New York City, covering objectives, sponsorship, selection of local areas, and plans and procedures of organization. Shulman's plan embodies most of the sound principles developed in this field during the past fifteen years.

The most important aim of the programs enumerated above is the prevention of delinquency but, as was pointed out in the first part of this article, in practice that purpose must be integrated with the larger goals of youth conservation and youth service. In fact the adequate prevention of delinquency necessitates the development of an inclusive program for the normal and average juvenile and adolescent population and it is this broader program which constitutes the necessary framework within which the narrower goal of delinquency prevention can only be achieved.

Some of the principles underlying the broader program of youth service for the local community have been worked out in connection with the development of the Manhasset (New York) Youth Council.¹⁹ While the following statement is not exhaustive, it does include some of the major considerations that must be utilized in such a program:²⁰

- 1 The basic purpose of the Manhasset Youth Council is to promote cooperation among young people for the service of the entire community.

2. Its fundamental goal is to build morale among young people. The goal of the program is much more than to entertain youth. It is to instruct, to develop character and responsibility, to create enthusiasm for worthwhile activities, and to discourage cynicism and rowdiness. This is recreation in its true sense. A variety of techniques are used for this purpose. Examples are to connect the local activities wherever possible with State and national organizations in order to give them support and prestige, to give the young people the credit for whatever is accomplished; to give ample publicity to youth projects and to have pictures published whenever possible in order to build up the young people and give them a lift.

- 3 The program of the Manhasset Youth Council is for the enjoyment

¹⁹ See references previously cited in this article.

²⁰ Adapted from *Information Bulletin No. 4*, the Manhasset Youth Council.

and education of *all* young people residing in the Manhasset school district between the ages of 13 and 18 or 19. Hence the program is: (a) nonsectarian, (b) nonpartisan; (c) nonsectional; (d) includes youths of all racial and nationality groups. These ideals may be well expressed in the first two planks adopted by the young people of the Manhasseters, the Council's civic group, which are as follows: (a) to work together to make Manhasset a better place in which to live; (b) to work for a unified Manhasset.

4. The Council is noncompetitive. Its purpose is to support and strengthen the work of all youth-serving organizations. For example, it hopes to help recruit more boy and girl scouts and to keep them scouts longer; to support and strengthen the work of the Police Boys' Club; to assist in the further development of the Legion Drum and Bugle Corps; to get more young people into their church groups and not schedule competing events with church young peoples' functions.

5. The program of the Manhasset Youth Council is not a school program, but is basically a spare-time program to meet leisure-time needs of youth: (a) It should seek the advice and help of school officials at all times; (b) leisure-time activities developed by the Youth Council should be based on a foundation of interests and skills developed in school to promote and encourage a definite carry over from school learnings to spare-time activities.

6. One purpose of the Council program is to keep spare-time activities in the home as far as possible. In this way, it attempts to promote family life, to encourage the participation of parents and adult community leaders, and to bring children and young people and adults closer together. Thus it serves as a partial program of parent education and an effort to develop the home and the family in the wholesome control and education of the young.

7. The Council attempts to make the whole community more youth conscious through public discussion of their problems and by presenting their activities through the press, through special publications, and through such activities as those of the Talent and Speaker's Bureaus which enable young people to appear at public functions both as artists and as speakers to explain their activities.

8. The Council through its thoroughly representative Adult Committee affords a medium for mutual discussion of youth problems by adult representatives of all youth-serving groups.

9. The Council supplements existing youth programs with additional

recreational and cultural spare-time activities when such programs are desirable.

10 The Council stimulates the support among young people and adults for larger community recreational and cultural activities, such as those sponsored by the Community Recreation Committee in the Hobby Show and in Youth Week.

The plan of the Manhasset Youth Council is to expand greatly its roster of interesting projects, so that eventually all young people in the community may be enrolled in a varied program of constructive activities. A survey of participation is contemplated in order to determine who has been left out and to make it possible to plan activity for young people who need it most. This is closely related to the problem of guidance for the so-called "vulnerable" group, and it is an essential feature of the program to utilize recreational therapy in dealing with difficult cases, even building groups around them if need be.

The program also includes the improvement of community conditions, such as curbing the sale to minors of liquor, which may have a harmful effect upon youth.

Obviously, this is largely a program for the adolescent population and a complete plan for youth service should reach down into the younger age groups with a corresponding program of development and coordination of constructive activities.

The larger the part the school system is able to play in providing for the spare-time needs of children and young people, the less acute will be the problem for the leisure-time agencies and the over-all program such as that represented by the Youth Council.²¹

It becomes apparent from the above presentation that community coordination for youth service may not necessarily represent an adequate program for delinquency prevention, nor may a program

²¹ The Interdepartmental Committee on Delinquency set up by Governor Thomas E. Dewey in New York State has prepared a pattern for the schools to follow in assuming their share of responsibility for the prevention of delinquency. This has been published by the New York State Department of Education under the title of "Schools Against Delinquency" and distributed to all school principals (Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1944).

of coordination for delinquency prevention be adequate to perform all the necessary functions of youth service. By combining the two concepts, however, an ideal program for the prevention of delinquency and for the well-rounded development of all children and young people can be formulated, and the adequate performance of each function makes the other easier.

A final comment is in order. The title of a program that performs the dual function of delinquency prevention and broader youth service should always avoid the use of the words "delinquency" and "crime." When the Manhasset Youth Council was first organized the young people chose the title, "The Manhasset Youth Council for the Prevention of Delinquency," but they soon dropped the words, "for the Prevention of Delinquency," in order to emphasize their positive contribution of a program of wholesome, constructive activities. Likewise, the workshop in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency mentioned above has now discarded the reference to delinquency and is known simply as the Youth Workshop. It is noteworthy also that the proposed new State agency to develop a program of delinquency prevention throughout New York State is to be called the New York State Youth Service Commission.²⁴

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THE ROLE OF THE TEEN-AGE CENTER

Editor's Note: In the past few years youth-conscious adults have become more sensitive to the general lack of facilities for adolescent recreation in all types of American communities. Teen-age groups, furthermore, have become more articulate in demanding facilities of their own for social visiting, dancing, games, and refreshments. The result has been the establishment of hundreds of teen-age cen-

²⁴ *Interim Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Delinquency. Part 1, Preventing Juvenile Delinquency. Proposals for a State Program* (Albany, N. Y., December, 1944).

ters throughout the land. The young people have usually made these centers truly their own: They have begged for them, petitioned for them; earned them; cleaned, scraped, and painted them; and now they have a large voice in planning their programs and managing them. And so from Oakland to New York and from Fort Lauderdale to Vermont, the teen-age crowds are gathering in their own fun spots, which have been given such typical names as Swing Inn, the Rec, the Dry Dock, the Bar None Corral, the Bee Hive, and the Coop.

An interesting aspect of the development of teen-age centers is that, while in themselves they are only a small part of the answer to the needs of youth, they are calling the attention of the community to the need for more comprehensive, better planned, and better supported spare-time programs for children and teen-agers alike. They are becoming centers for a wider range of activities than originally contemplated or they are being incorporated into broader, coordinated programs of youth service, which they themselves did much to bring about. Thus, the teen-age-center movement is stimulating serious community interest in renting or planning to build after the war real community houses which will be part of a program requiring a paid full-time recreational coordinator or director.

On the following pages three types of teen-age centers and their particular services and problems are described and then follows a bibliography of references to many other types. Is the teen-age center here to stay or will it go the way of miniature golf? The answer probably lies in the ability of the community to incorporate it into a broader community program of youth service with adequate leadership and financing.¹

¹ For valuable hints on Teen Age Canteens, see also a brochure "On Teen-Age Canteens," a memorandum prepared by the Associated Youth-Serving Organizations, Inc., 134 E. 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. This pamphlet includes a valuable bibliography. See also issues of *Community Recreation Bulletin*, publication office, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. This publication answers many questions on teen age centers and deals especially with the importance of such centers in keeping adolescents from frequenting places where liquor is sold.

A TEXAS TEEN-AGE CENTER

Jessie Clayton Adams

The story of Teen-Canteen in Fort Worth, Texas, would not be complete without a brief summary depicting its physical background predicated upon the lore of the Southwest. In 1936, Texas decided to celebrate its centennial. Fort Worth being the gateway to the West assumed her individual role in this particular celebration by creating a very lavish amusement center that attracted citizens far and near. The Casa Manana, with the largest revolving stage in the world, presented a spectacular show to an audience under the stars. Among the many attractions and adjacent to the Casa Manana was the Pioneer Palace, a large gaily colored building consisting of two very large rooms where dancing and games could be indulged in. The Palace also had dressing rooms, a stage, a broadcasting studio, and a kitchen. Reminiscent of the West, with its cattle industry, were the decorations of the various cattle brands, still intact upon the walls. So seven years later, with the country at war, suddenly came the realization that this project conceived in time of peace could be converted into a place where teen-agers of the community might have the opportunity for wholesome recreation and constructive use of leisure time.

Teen-Canteen, Incorporated, was composed of a group of thoughtful citizens who had the good fortune to include as its president, Mr. Stanley A. Thompson, a man who, out of the goodness of his heart and with an intelligent appraisal through the years of all educational, civic, and worthwhile projects, spared nothing in his efforts to create an attractive youth center. A survey was made to determine what form of amusement and type of place were frequented by the teen-age group. The unhappy discovery that a very large per cent of high-school boys and girls were seeking emotional release at the many night clubs scattered throughout the city, where a none too wholesome atmosphere existed, gave further evidence of the importance of the center.

Fifty sponsors invited by the president of Teen-Canteen very generously contributed necessary funds to create an attractive cabaret-style center with colorful tables and chairs placed around the floor, also a game room, including table tennis, shuffleboard, and various other games. The adult board, always in the background but acting as hosts on the two nights a week that the Canteen operated, worked closely with a Junior Council which was elected from the eight high schools in the city. The

election of these young people was conducted in the usual democratic way, each school providing one boy and one girl. Although it is agreed that adult supervision is necessary in an inconspicuous manner, thoughtful young people as leaders show a great understanding and sense of responsibility when called upon to direct the policies of such an organization.

In connection with the two nights of entertainment, radio broadcasts were given which included quiz programs and the sponsoring of individual talent. Also officiating in the program for the evening were boys and girls appointed by the Junior Committee. The function of this group was to encourage good manners, as members of a house group, and to enforce the rules made by the junior governing body.

With the advent of summer it was decided by both the junior and senior boards that a director was needed, some one trained in the problems of youth who would act as an intermediary between the two boards. Under this leadership a more informal program was planned for the summer. On Saturdays a group of boys and girls met at the Canteen, painted, cleaned, and contributed any particular talent that he or she might have. For example, murals depicting the modern western boy and girl were added by a high-school girl which blended with the general atmosphere of the building. Most important of all, through art and group work, many timid individuals were provided an opportunity for self-expression. *Dancing lessons were given for one hour each week, making it possible for many an awkward youth who had not had the opportunity to learn to dance in the proper manner.*

As the year 1944 came to an end an evaluation of the Canteen was made. It was agreed through conferences held with the schools, social agencies, civic groups, and interested individuals that Teen-Canteen had fulfilled a very definite need of the community. However, because of greatly impeded transportation facilities, the youth center, so ideally suited for such a project in normal times, could not continue to serve sufficient numbers to justify operations indefinitely.

The final appraisal and recommendation made by the director of the Canteen was as follows. The development of recreation and the constructive use of leisure time should be recognized as a public responsibility and integrated with the schools, churches, social agencies, and civic groups. It is also a matter of education in order that the public may appreciate the importance of child play and the needs of children. While plans are not

yet in progress, it is the opinion of the directorate that the Fort Worth Teen-Canteen, because of the problems of transportation and the size of the city, is not adequate to meet the needs of all the boys and girls in the community. However, as a unified project for all schools it contributed a very fine influence in breaking down an unhealthy rivalry that existed among the schools in various sections of the city. It is to be hoped that the schools and churches will provide necessary facilities in every school zone so that boys and girls may have easy access to a recreational center every day in the week, with some major culminating activity planned by them for the week end.

This should be only the beginning of a consciousness on the part of the citizens in every community regarding their responsibilities to help stabilize the youth of today. Because of accelerated pace of living, overcrowded housing, and absence of mothers from homes, something must be done to meet these inadequacies. Not only should this consciousness prevail during the war emergency but, through adult education, it should become a continuous process toward building for security in childhood.

Jessie Clayton Adams (Mrs. Charles S. Adams) is a member of the Board of Directors of Teen Canteen, Incorporated, and Director of the Pioneer Palace, Fort Worth's interesting teen-age center

YOUTH ACTIVITIES, INCORPORATED, ALTOONA, PA.

Nancy Jane Schott

The resourcefulness and determination of the high-school set became apparent when, in September 1943, a group of four hundred students spending their final years of training in the Senior High School put their John Henry's on a petition requesting the establishment of a club where they might congregate during their leisure hours. Up to that time there had been no entertainment or recreation but the movies, followed by a sandwich and a quick coke at some juke joint or drugstore for the "fifteen to nineteen gang." This was undoubtedly the reason the idea was enthusiastically welcomed and carried out with such fervor.

After the petition had wended its way among the students, it was presented to the high-school principal, Joseph N. Maddocks, for his approval. Thinking the venture a worth-while one, he turned it over to the Student Senate, the school's governing body, to act upon. Noted for its progressive

activities, the Senate put up a vigorous battle, sending speakers to leading service clubs for men and women and various other organizations. In *these talks they presented their views on the method of establishing and maintaining the club in such a way that it would not be just a passing fancy.* The necessity of adult supervision was realized but, as was well expressed by a Senate member, "adult supervision without dictation" was the goal. The remainder of the school agreed to this emphatically. The vote being unanimous, the aid of the Recreation Committee of the Council of Social Agencies was secured. This committee appointed a group of adults who agreed to act as an Adult Supervisory Board.

Committees composed of students were established under the titles of Housing, Furnishing, Rules, Membership, Finance, Refreshment, and Entertainment. Members of the Youth Council headed these committees, and committee membership was voluntary. The assignment of the Housing Committee was to find a suitable location for the club's home. They searched from one end of the business district to the other for a nice, centrally located building, the rent of which would fit the budget. The budget was a pretty important item in the planning of the club and had to be made out beforehand. Finally they discovered what they thought to be the answer to their dreams—only in reality. Close to the exact center of the city, it contained two large rooms covering four thousand square feet, a connecting hall, and a balcony overlooking each room. They immediately began to envision the warehouse's appearance when cleaned, decorated, and furnished. The rent was not prohibitive.

While the Housing Committee was doing its bit, the others were far from loafing. The Furnishing Committee was also scouring the town. Furniture, victrola records, and anything of any use to a teen-age club was the object of their search. They made out exceedingly well, with the help of the members of the Adult Board, and reported that they had secured a loan of the beautiful plush furniture from a few of the Pennsylvania Railroad lounge cars besides other articles donated. The railroad furniture consisted of davenports and lounge chairs. Also in the line of furnishing were the piano, a juke box which could be played without inserting nickles, three ping-pong tables, numerous games and game tables, refreshment tables, and a large, streamlined coke bar. At the bar were served soft drinks, milk, ice cream, pretzels, and potato chips.

At the same time, rules were being drawn up with much thought by the group in charge. It was decided to charge fifty cents for a three-month

membership Altoona Catholic High School was invited to take part in the planning of the club and to send delegates to the Council

Rules prohibited smoking and drinking of intoxicating liquors in the club rooms. No gambling or unusual rowdiness was to be tolerated. The hours of the club were set from 7 30 p m to 11.30 on Friday and Saturday nights Fifteen up to and including nineteen became the age limits.

Wise is the word to describe the Cleanup Committee. Under their guidance any one who so desired could come in and take part in the cleaning of the building. At least fifty students were on hand at all times during the scrubbing procedure. All had donned working clothes and were actually looking forward to the job It was a sight to behold! The large plate-glass windows disclosed the scene to passers-by who halted to peer in Amused expressions were visible on each face. No wonder—there before them were boys and girls of various sizes and shapes attired in old slacks and overalls, some down on their hands and knees with scrub brush and soap scouring the floor, some with mops and some on ladders washing windows or giving the walls a thorough going over From their appearance it seemed as though they had transferred the dirt from the building to themselves and were wearing it none too well. Signs indicated that the bystanders who were parents to any of the hard-working crew had never seen them work so laboriously, yet enjoy themselves so immensely while at it.

The high-school art department furnished the wall decorations in the form of slightly exaggerated high-school figures, brightly colored and in several so-called dancing poses. These were placed in conspicuous spots about the room. Posters, also the work of the art department, illustrated club rules

The club was to be something in which all students could share In order to bring this about more fully, an application was made to the proper State officials to incorporate under the nonprofit corporation law. The official name of the club was to be Youth Activities, Incorporated. The application was accepted and Youth Activities, Incorporated it became. The name was then printed in bold red, black, and gold letters on both windows. Matching side drapes were hung. The constitution provided for an adult supervisory group of eleven members, and a Youth Council of fourteen students. Meetings were to be held on the second Monday of each month.

Opening night, April 4, 1944, fast approached Every object, every spot

was in readiness and shining. At the entrance three students were checking the printed membership cards and stamping hands with the purple identifying "R." This made it possible for those wishing to enter or leave the rooms to do so without going through the process of displaying the membership card each trip. Over four hundred students were on hand for the first night. Some in the game room were busy with the facilities supplied them; a number were at the coke bar. The rest were either dancing in the other room to the music of a high-school band, or on the clever balcony overlooking the dance floor. And, of course, a part of every girl's evening was spent in the powder room designed exclusively for her. The balcony above the game room fast became a maze of coats, hats, and pocketbooks, and the hangers supplied just as speedily disappeared.

Youth Activities has been riding high for nearly a year now. New ideas and changes desired may be dropped in the suggestion box; your autograph may be found on a section of the dance-floor wall known to all as the "Wall of Fame." The last has been greatly utilized. Names are on in pencil, lipstick, and even paint. Hallowe'en and Christmas parties have been special features of the club. The adult supervision has been just what should be—just as teen-agers want it. Hostesses are on duty each evening. All in all, the club is excellent and "has got what it takes."

Nancy Jane Schott is a student in the Altoona Senior High School who did a great deal to help in the development of Youth Activities, Incorporated.

A CORPORATION AS A MEANS OF SERVING YOUTH INTERESTS

Walter S. Boardman

The people of Oceanside claim neither to have worked miracles nor to have established a mortgage on ways and means of solving the present-day youth problems of a suburban community. They do believe that a good foundation has been established upon which they can build for the future.

Oceanside, Long Island, is an unincorporated community of over 10,000 population. It is without geographic or racial barriers, and the people are almost universally of moderate means. Cases of extreme poverty are rare and those of greater wealth have settled elsewhere. Because of the larger population centers of Freeport, Hempstead, Rockville Centre,

and Lynbrook, all within six miles or less radius, the shopping center has not developed on anything like the scale to be found in a small city such as is portrayed in *Main Street*. The rural or less densely settled hinterland that surrounds any typical American city is, in this case, replaced by the larger centers mentioned, which tend to draw people away, and to divide their interests and loyalties. The problem is made even more difficult by the fact that most residents have moved to the community in the past twenty years and have not formed the deep home ties that come with many years of living in a place.

So it is that the outlook of youth is quite different from that of their parents. The Oceanside School District, in addition to accommodating the children of Oceanside, takes in a population of at least four thousand persons living within the incorporated village of Rockville Centre or the large but unincorporated village of Baldwin. Children from these areas, by reason of their school ties, are strongly Oceansiders in affiliations and, as a result, are dissociated from their parents in civic affairs. This strong sense of local pride and loyalty is even more intense within the area known as Oceanside, even though parents do have divided interests. When schools are not in session with their activity programs and unifying force, the young people are less fortunate than their friends in other communities. Because of the diffused civic interests of adults, those agencies that are doing much for the youth of many cities are nonexistent here.

During the fall of 1943, various civic and youth-interested groups of adults of the Oceanside School District held a series of study conferences to determine what might be done beyond the school program. One clear need seemed to be for some corporate body whose entire function would be the study and promotion of the interests of youth.

The following principles were adopted as a basis upon which to work.

1. The words and thought of "juvenile delinquency" should be kept out of discussion and planning. The approach must be positive.
2. A maximum opportunity for youthful enterprise should be provided with adults serving in an advisory capacity only.
3. Very wide community support of whatever is to be done is essential. This seemed to mean a separate community association for the purpose.
4. To protect adults serving in any capacity, there must be protection against liability which seemed to mean a corporate type of association.
5. This corporate body should represent a complete cross section of the community.

Upon this framework of reference, a committee was appointed and a lawyer of the community drew up an application for a charter of incorporation. Two preliminary community-wide meetings were held and publicity was given in order that what was being planned might be widely known and understood. When it was thought that the public was familiar with the facts and in general accord in regard to procedure, an organization meeting was called. The usual corporation officers were elected. In addition, a board of directors was selected to act in the proper capacity. In keeping with the fundamental principle of wide representation, the directors were people from widely differing affiliations Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew clergy, American Legion, Parent-Teacher Associations, school administration, and several substantial businessmen of the community were included.

Active subcommittees of adults are vital to the success of the work. Those already functioning are Finance and House. The Finance Committee is responsible for community contributions. The House Committee is responsible for looking after the hall, which serves as a youth center.

To date, the corporation and directors have been chiefly concerned with the provision and operation of a large hall, the youth center, capable of accommodating two hundred fifty young people safely and comfortably. It is the upstairs showroom of a Ford garage and sales agency. It is well lighted and ventilated, but the most important thing is that the quarters are all one open space. With the exception of cloak room, toilets, and kitchen, every foot of the place is open for observation. This has reduced the need of chaperons to a minimum, making it possible for the young people to work out effective self-government.

At first it was named "The Zanzibar," but later the young people thought the name should be more in keeping with their school theme of "Sailors." (The high-school activities have been worked about the sailor theme for several years.) A list of names was prepared by the council and there was a gala night set aside for voting on the new name. "Sailor's Haven" was selected.

The program, the plan of operation, the decoration, and the details of less glamorous but essential housekeeping have been in the hands of a committee of teen-agers.

For their own benefit, they work in two separate groups based upon the social age-range of the junior (11-14 years) and senior (14-18 years) high schools. Each group or Club as they call themselves has a council

consisting of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and chairmen of house, program, and refreshment committees. The councils meet weekly with their adult advisers to plan their activities. Rules of conduct have been established by the councils, and are more strict than the sponsoring adults would have dared to impose. Chaperons are recruited by the five Parent-Teacher Associations. The recreation program of the senior group is now under the direction of a woman who has had professional training and who has volunteered her services. Direction of the junior group is now being developed on a corresponding basis.

In general, the young people have met their problems well and are gaining experience how to conduct a successful evening's program. Each week their officers and committee chairmen meet with adult advisers for an hour or so to plan evenings ahead and to make assignments. It is the experience of those in charge that this conference hour is the heart and soul of the program. Under the inspiration of their own enthusiasm and with a few suggestions from their advisers, the young people do carry forward successfully. As for the corporation itself, it can truthfully be said that it has proved an effective vehicle for drawing together those elements of the community interested in constructive youth activity. It is based upon and operates upon the fundamental principles of representative, democratic government and, while rightfully limited to the service of youth, it is broad enough to include all needs found to exist.

Dr. Walter S. Boardman is Superintendent of Schools at Oceanside, N. Y.

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Current publications on youth recreation (brochures) ¹

- 1 *Teen Trouble* Problems of youth in wartime
- 2 *Gotta Date Tonight?* Experience of several cities in solving youth recreation problems.
- 3 *Preventing Wartime Delinquency* Causes of juvenile delinquency presented in a series of newspaper articles
4. *Suggestions for Youth Recreation Programs* An outline by Florida recreation executives

¹ Nos 1, 4, 5, and 7 may be purchased at 10 cents each, nos 2, 3, and 6 at 15 cents each, from the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N Y

5. *Teen-Age Centers—Bird's-Eye View*: Latest developments in youth-center field
 6. *Youth Out of Doors* A reprint of interesting outdoor activities suited for teen-age boys and girls
 7. *A Teen-Age Recreation Survey of Long Beach*.
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A CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY COORDINATES AND EXPANDS ITS RECREATIONAL PROGRAM

Christal M. Murphy

(Data and Statistics by Claire Johnston)

The Arroyo Viejo Community Council of Oakland, California, came into existence as a result of the public concern over the behavior of youth. It was organized as an experiment in community effort to study the problems of juvenile delinquency. The city was divided into geographical areas, and the eastern section became known as Arroyo Viejo and includes an estimated population of 65,000 people. In this district are three junior high schools, one high school, Castlemont, and ten elementary schools. In addition Mills College is in the area.

The adult Community Council functions on the assumption that, in a democracy, those who live in an area are the ones most concerned and responsible for the welfare and development of the neighborhood; therefore this group studies the needs of youth in the district and devises ways and means of meeting them and of obtaining aid from city and county agencies to that end.

Working hand in hand with this adult body is a group of teen-age students at Castlemont High School, the Youth Council, who share with the adults in planning and in promoting a recreational program in which they are sufficiently interested to give full support and time. This student body is under the sponsorship of two faculty members who attend all meetings and functions.

Both the members of the adult council and those on the Youth Council attend each other's meetings, offer suggestions, and have full rights to the floor for discussion. This builds for what, during the past three years, has been perfect understanding and cooperation.

Serving in the Arroyo Viejo area is a physical-education teacher called a coordinator who visits each elementary, junior high, and senior high school to plan programs and offer help as needed. This is a new position created last year by the Oakland Board of Education, which has set up six geographical areas each served by a recreational coordinator. These coordinators work not only with school people, but also with the Group Work Division of the Council of Social Agencies, and with its local committee groups or councils.

Various sections have been organized as subcommittees of the Arroyo Viejo Community Council, such as the Professional Section of the Arroyo Viejo Community Council. This unit consists of the elementary- and secondary-school principals, representatives of the association of churches, police officers in the district, librarians, public-health officials, Parent-Teacher Association representatives, group-work agency people, and representatives of the superintendent's office of the Board of Education, which includes the coordinator, individual guidance-department consultants, and nurses. At the monthly luncheon meeting attendance is about forty. Various committees from this group have set to work with emphasis on the problem of pre-delinquency among elementary-school children. They have sent out information and letters to parents on police and library services. They are now enlarging their scope of study.

The Youth Council surveyed the school population in order to offer a program with vitality and interest to the student groups. As a result two dances each month have been set up. Any student in school who brings a written permit from a parent receives a

Youth Council membership card which entitles him to admission to these dances. Needless to say, these dances are planned and run by the students themselves, who check cards at the door, handle the check room, operate the recording machine, and attend to the sale of coke. Floor shows of school talent have recently been added with splendid results.

In connection with the dances a keen interest in parlor games is being developed. The girls' athletic honor society operates the game room and issues games and supplies. Many prefer games to dancing, and both can be conducted at the same time. For example, boys and girls may play ping-pong and then go to dance. Others simply like to chat; they do not care to dance, and they prefer to sit and talk to others of the same age. The dance floor is simply decorated, and it is always lighted nicely to suggest a party. As a means of introducing people, the "Pony Express" has been used with success. In this, five couples start to dance, and then each must seek a new partner when the music stops, thus allowing every one a chance to get on the floor. We have had five to six hundred teen-agers in a Conga line. This activity is more strenuous and increases the sale of cokes. In addition, the Board of Education offers a wide recreational program after school and during the evening hours at junior high and senior high schools.

Attendance for this phase of the program is quite astounding, for from September 1943 to June 1944 a grand total of 52,230 persons took part, an overwhelming majority of them teen-agers. This is an accumulated attendance. During October of this year 9,162 attended, and this was for regular activities with no special features.

The Youth Council of Castlemont, in cooperation with members of the Oakland Recreation Department, Arroyo Viejo Community Council, and the Auxiliary Police, organized the "Castleteen" located in the field house of a municipal playground. Dances are held here on Friday nights, alternating with the Youth Council dances at Castlemont and, in addition, on Saturday nights. At present the

clubhouse is crowded to capacity, and a show of professional and amateur talent was given to raise money to enlarge the building.

For the past two years a community program has been presented at Castlemont High School to show the results of the coordinated program in this area. Money from the sale of tickets is prorated to each group that participates; in this way Girl and Boy Scouts, Y W.C A., Federal Housing units, and schools can become aware of the part each is playing.

Recently a subcommittee was appointed to work on plans for "Stay at Home Camps" for boys and girls during the summer. This committee involves a recreational coordinator as committee chairman plus members from each of the following: Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., city recreational department representatives, and Board of Education recreational coordinators.

The work of the committee is to survey all resources of each group; then work together so to coordinate and pool these resources that every child in Oakland may be offered the opportunity of some kind of camp experience during vacation.

Another group that has given one hundred per cent help to our program is the Auxiliary Police who patrol the grounds and streets to see that no one remains after the dances. They aided in raising money to open the "Castleteen." Their support and interest have been invaluable.

Yes, we've been busy—working, talking, and planning—but what of the results? Police records may or may not be tests, but Captain F. R. Barbeau, Captain of Police in the Eastern Division of Oakland, California, stated that in his personal opinion the results had been more than gratifying. According to a graph drawn from morning reports, the following seems to be correct for burglaries. In 1943 the total number of cases reported in the Eastern Division was 637; in 1944 the total reported was 464. This represents a decrease of 173 or 27.3 per cent. Of these crimes, 90 per cent are committed by juveniles. According to Captain Barbeau, of 100 juveniles,

97 are *good* boys and girls; only 3 per cent are really delinquent. Of the 3 per cent in the Eastern Division only 19 per cent are repeaters

When he was asked for a statement regarding the results of the program from the police point of view, Captain Barbeau stated:

The over-all picture, as I see it from a police angle, is one of the most outstanding and forward movements for the prevention of juvenile delinquency that has come to my attention during the past year and a half. I do know that police activities have been greatly aided by these activities and the result of recommendations made through the Professional Section to the effect that it has brought the police in close contact with all organizations interested in child guidance in this division.

The only way any such program can function fully is by cooperation; cooperation of group-work agencies, school groups, religious groups, and recreational groups. Yes, we've all been willing to forget our own group identity in order to work together to solve our common problems, because we're holding high a torch that was given us by other hands.

My personal hope is that all of this fine unified action will not be concluded at the termination of the war. In our setup we feel that we are as valuable to the good youths as we are to the bad ones. Every young person should be directed into worth-while leisure-time activities if he's to be helped to meet one of life's greatest challenges.

From this unified program one can see that this type of activity need not necessarily be a war emergency project, but it should continue and grow as life continues and grows.

Christal M. Murphy is sponsor of the Youth Council of the Castlemont High School of Oakland, California. *Claire Johnston* is the coordinator of the project.

THE MANHASSET YOUTH COUNCIL

Joy Jostyn

The Manhasset (N.Y.) Youth Council has become justly famous because, under the sponsorship of the local Community Recreation Committee, it has developed a pattern of community coordination for youth service which may be adapted to meet the needs of many American communities seeking a solution of their youth problems. Since the Council was established on October 29, 1943, it has attracted wide attention and has inspired local efforts along similar lines in many other localities. It was widely publicized in a brochure published by *Life* magazine as a sequel to *Life's* report, "Our Kids Are in Trouble," and mailed to some 7,000 educators throughout the United States. The plan has been recommended as a model by the American Women's Voluntary Services, which is interested in sponsoring local programs in the service of youth throughout the country.

The Manhasset Youth Council is a body of more than 400 young people between the ages of 13 and 18 in a community of approximately 14,000 people, a commuting suburb some seventeen miles from New York City (Manhattan), served by some eighty trains a day. Manhasset is not a town in the ordinary sense of the term, but a collection of some thirteen real-estate developments and villages, incorporated and unincorporated, that together constitute the Manhasset school district. It is largely an area of beautiful homes, numerous churches, and luxurious clubs, and although it has a small section characterized by poverty and miserable housing, most of its residents are prosperous business and professional people. Any young person (aged 13 to 18) residing within this school district is eligible to become a member of the Youth Council and may join by handing his name to one of the officers.

The Youth Council is sponsored and financed by the Community Recreation Committee, an autonomous group of public-spirited

local citizens who are interested in developing a long-range program adequate to meet the recreational needs of the whole community for young and old alike. The Recreation Committee sponsors the popular annual hobby show (attended in 1945 by 5,000 people) and Youth Week and participates actively in organizing local recreational projects.

The Manhasset Youth Council, which is nonsectarian and interracial, constitutes a splendid cross section of the young people of the community. No dues are required for membership in the Council, but all members purchase willingly an attractive sterling-silver recognition pin (at a cost of 78 cents), which is required for entrance into the Council's Youth Center (The Juke Box), for voting in Youth Council elections, and for participation in the other numerous clubs and activities of the Council.

The Youth Council is governed by an Executive Board of young people made up as follows: (1) elected officers and members of the executive committee; (2) presidents and chairmen of all clubs and activities; and (3) representatives, officially designated, of all youth groups in Manhasset, including the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, Legion Drum and Bugle Corps, Community Service Center, Junior Red Cross, Police Boys' Club, young people's groups of the churches, etc. Thus, the Executive Board is completely representative and democratic. These young people in general determine the policies and plans of the Council with the assistance of adult advisers.

Like the youthful Executive Board, the Adult Committee of the Youth Council, which is a subcommittee of the Community Recreation Committee, is completely representative of all the youth-serving groups and interests of the community and is so constituted as to keep all community agencies informed about youth problems and needs. The Adult Committee, which acts in an advisory capacity to the young people, is made up of four classes of membership: (1) officially designated representatives of youth-serving agencies in the

community such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Police Boys' Club, etc., (2) youth chairmen of the various civic, cultural, and educational organizations in the community, (3) adult leaders and coaches of Youth Council clubs and activities; and (4) private citizens who are interested in youth problems

The Youth Chairmen of community organizations are a particularly noteworthy feature of the Manhasset plan. Each of three women's clubs, for example, has a Youth Chairman who attends the meetings of the Council's Adult Committee and takes back to her respective organization reports of youth problems, needs, and plans. This is an excellent method of tying all the youth interests of the community together and making all its organizations more youth conscious. Furthermore, the participation of official representatives of all youth agencies in the adult committee is a guarantee against duplication of effort in serving young people and a help in the development of a complete community front of understanding and cooperation in solving the problems of young people.

The organization and program of the Youth Council have been developed on the basis of certain principles fundamental to community coordination for youth service. These principles are more fully presented elsewhere in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*.¹ It should be pointed out here, however, that the Youth Council program is basically a program for developing wholesome spare-time activities for young people and although it must be closely coordinated with the educational and religious programs of the community, it is designed primarily to meet leisure-time needs. Another fundamental consideration is that it is designed to work with and strengthen the work of every other youth-serving agency in the community—never to compete with or supplant other agencies.

In order to complete the picture of the Manhasset Youth Council, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the origin, development, and

¹ See the article by Frederic M. Thrasher on "Some Principles Underlying Community Coordination," p. 187.

present activities of its program. In the spring of 1943 the community had come to a growing realization that there were no adequate facilities available for adolescent recreation. There was no community center, no "Y," no place to which the young people of the whole community could go for social activities, friendly visiting, dancing, and refreshments. There were, on the other hand, numerous taverns and near-by roadhouses, which it was felt were not ideal congregating places for young people.

Community interest in this problem finally developed to the extent that a forum composed of two panels, one of local adult leaders and another of the young people themselves, was held in March 1943 under the auspices of the School Community Association (which corresponds in other communities to the Parent-Teacher Association). One of the local newspapers made the following report on this meeting:²

That Manhasset young people want—and intend to get—a bowling league and recreation center where they can gather for dancing (to a juke box), soft drinks and games—was brought out in a lively meeting of the School Community Association at the Plandome Road School on Monday night.

That drinking, smoking and immorality in varying degrees exist in Manhasset was admitted by the students, who blamed the situation partly upon some parents' leniency in their own behaviour and that of their offspring; to the fact that there is no public place where they can go without being subject to the influence of a bar, that it is not as much fun entertaining at home and that while they "want to escape the parental eye, they have no desire to cut up . . ."

Furthermore, there had been complaints from the local theater management and the real-estate men of considerable vandalism, which seemed to indicate a lack of something more interesting and more constructive to do on the part of the young people.

² *Manhasset Mail*, March 11, 1943

As a result of the work of the Community Recreation Committee in cooperation with local business and professional leaders, a teenage club, "The Juke Box," named by the young people themselves, was opened on September 17, 1943.³ In spite of many difficulties, this center operated successfully during most of 1943-1944. It was so successful in its initial stages that the March of Time embodied a sequence on it as a typical youth canteen in its release on *Youth in Crisis*, which appeared in some 14,000 United States theaters in November 1943.

The inception of the Youth Council came on October 29, 1943, following a preview of *Youth in Crisis* by twenty-two representative Manhasset young people, who decided it was time to undertake a more comprehensive program for young people than that represented by the Juke Box. They elected officers and appointed committees representative of the various religious, racial, and youth groups in the community. At first they called themselves the Manhasset Youth Council for the Prevention of Delinquency, but they soon dropped the words "for the Prevention of Delinquency," in order that their approach might be completely positive. They set up three committees, one on vandalism, one on the sale of liquor to minors, and, third and most important, a committee to develop a varied and attractive program of club and other activities, which would provide many wholesome interests for all kinds of young people in the community.

The young people adopted a slogan to incorporate their major purpose: "To promote cooperation among young people for the service of the entire community." And they began with an emphasis on this aspect of their program by taking over the local movie house for a benefit and raising some \$275.00 for the Community Recreation Committee.

³ The story of "The Juke Box" is told in an interesting and informative way by Mrs. Boyd Lipsett, one of the leading spirits in getting it started, in *Recreation* magazine for May 1944.

During the remainder of the 1943-1944 season the Youth Council activities may be summarized as follows.

Theater party in New York to preview "Where Are Your Children," following which members participated in a discussion of the picture with members of the Dukes, a group of boys from Mousetown in upper Manhattan.

Committee on Vandalism, with the cooperation of J. Edgar Hoover, sponsored a series of school assemblies for elementary and high schools in Manhasset and three near-by towns, addressed by FBI special agents on "The Short Step between Vandalism and Sabotage", illustrated by FBI movies.

Theater party of members of Youth Council Chess clubs saw *Othello* in New York where they had an opportunity to meet Paul Robeson backstage and have their pictures taken with the famous star. Pictures were published in local newspapers.

Committee on Sale of Liquor to Minors sought cooperation of liquor establishments and made some progress locally.

Youth Council Masqueraders (dramatic group) successfully presented a musical sketch at the Alvin Theatre in New York for the benefit of the Actors Equity Fund, appearing with such stars as Jimmy Durante, Ted Lewis, and Ralph Bellamy.

Members assisted with Annual Hobby Show where they helped with exhibits, ushering, assembling, and selling programs, etc.; conducted chess and checker tournaments, had a booth presenting Youth Council activities, and took a prominent part in the Saturday night stage show.

At the request of the Community Recreation Committee the Youth Council took over the junior management of the Juke Box, which became the Youth Council's official youth center.

Developed a series of program activities, including chess clubs, saber-fencing, art club, Victory Squad (which made an excellent record in bringing in the scrap), Armchair Admirals, Youth Council News

Materials collected for a 1944 yearbook.

The Manhasseters (the Youth Council's civic group) was organized and adopted a vigorous platform for local civic improvement.

Youth Council election held at the high school during Youth Week and Council activities prominently featured in exhibit; Council leaders were guests of Kiwanis Club at luncheon.

Numerous pictures and articles on Youth Council activities appeared in the local press

During the 1944-1945 season most Youth Council committees, clubs, and activities were resumed with renewed enthusiasm in a broader program of interest groups centering in the homes:

Camera Cinema Club, considered the Council's model group, successfully initiated and conducted (the club now has a waiting list)

Manhasseters make plans for conducting a community calendar with the endorsement and support of leaders in community organizations

Attractive insignia adopted and silver recognition pins required for participation in all activities. In this way the Executive Board hoped to achieve a better control of attendance at the Juke Box.

Talent Bureau organized to give young people a chance to develop self-confidence in appearing in public and to encourage the development of talent. Talent Bureau booked local young people at Larchmont, N. Y., at East Harlem Youth Rally (with an audience of 1,500), at Bronxville, N. Y., at USO shows, at hospitals, etc.

Music Lovers group successfully initiated with splendid program, meeting at homes of prominent local women interested in music (has a waiting list).

Chess Club activities renewed and adult leaders obtained for Arm Chair Admirals, and projected Electronics, Rifle, and Radio Clubs.

Sunshine Committee appointed to cheer ill young people and wounded

Women's Clubs and other organizations appoint Youth Chairmen and youth-service agencies designate official representatives to serve on Adult Advisory Committee.

Extensive publicity (with pictures) given to Youth Council activities in local press

Art group projected on same plan as Music Lovers

Speakers Bureau organized with speakers appearing locally, in New York City, and in other communities in New York region.

Bridge Club initiated and meeting monthly; beginners' bridge groups planned.

Youth Council Executive Board developed on a completely representative basis

Youth Council Square Dancers organized and taken over by the local high school

Youth Council Juke Box committee of young people in cooperation with adult Juke Box Committee reopen the Juke Box and adopt plan for complete renovation, new furniture, etc., drawn by prominent local architect; Juke Box completely repainted according to plan

Youth Council Almanac launched as a monthly publication issued by Press Club

Those close to the development of the Youth Council regard it as just having made a good beginning in the first year and a half of its existence. Great opportunities lie ahead and envisage an expansion of program to include more and more young people in varied activities which will be both enjoyable and constructive.

A new youth center is now an immediate need because the Juke Box was lost in January 1945 and this indicates a fundamental weakness of the adult approach to the problem in Manhasset. The Juke Box was an empty storeroom on the main street, provided generously by a public-spirited real-estate man rent free and accepted gratefully by the Community Recreation Committee with the understanding that it might be rented any time a suitable tenant was secured. The inevitable happened just after the room had been completely redecorated by the young people. Naturally it was a severe blow, but it demonstrated to the local community the necessity of not expecting facilities for its young people without paying for them. Fortunately the Juke Box was only a small part of the Manhasset Youth Council plan and the Council is continuing with its varied program, while actively agitating for a new youth center. The loss of the Juke Box has stimulated an active extension of the Council's program in homes and facilities provided by churches and schools

Another weakness of the Manhasset plan is that it has depended for the coordination of its adult leadership entirely upon volunteers. Volunteers, it must be emphasized, are an important source of strength for Youth Council activities. They should be the backbone of a program of this sort. Yet volunteers may move away, may become ill, or may not have the time to follow up and coordinate all the interesting possibilities which the Youth Council may realize. Eventually a paid coordinator, preferably trained in the fields of sociology, recreation, and community organization, should be ob-

tained for every community program of this sort as a guarantee of continuity and coordination. And for facilities and a trained key-person for coordinating leadership the community must learn to pay. Otherwise the youth center and the Youth Council alike are foredoomed to go the way of miniature golf.

Jay Jostyn, who is "Mr. District Attorney" on the radio, is a resident of Manhasset and chairman of the Youth Council's Adult Advisory Committee

AREA PROJECTS IN CLEVELAND*

Mildred H. Esgar

In recommending its appropriation to the Group Work Council in the fall of 1942, the Planning Committee of the Cleveland Welfare Federation stipulated that approximately \$8,500 of the grant be used for the extension of group work and recreational services into "areas of greatest need." How to secure the greatest returns from so small an amount was the question.

On the surface it might be assumed that "greatest need" always would be a determining factor in making appropriations. In great measure, that is true. However, the fact that every agency can make a case for more money than it has been receiving from the Federation has meant that there is some resistance to the allocation of funds to "new" projects, on the grounds that the existing agencies are receiving more requests for programs than they can meet and that all the available money should be distributed among them. On the other hand, there is danger that agencies under wartime pressures become even more absorbed in their own programs than usual and lose sight of the unmet needs in areas where the population has not become articulate enough to express interest in such programs. So, the earmarking of a sum of money for use in under-

* Miss Esgar's article is adapted from a heretofore unpublished paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, May 26, 1944.

served areas imposed upon the Group Work Council special responsibility for identifying these areas and for trying to strengthen services in them—the assumption being that the established agencies would share responsibility for the development of programs

Cleveland has had so many recreational surveys that there was agreement that an elaborate research project was not needed. A small committee appointed to make specific recommendations included the Director of the City Planning Commission, the Chief of Bureau of Attendance of the Cleveland Board of Education, the Research Secretary of the Welfare Federation, four lay leaders active in different types of private agencies, and the Secretary of the Group Work Council. Not only was this committee well informed itself about the city and the agencies, but it had access to material needed for study purposes—an important factor in speeding up a process.

The committee quickly established two principles: one, that it would be wiser to select a few geographical areas rather than to distribute so small an amount over too wide a field; the other, that the age group should be limited. Because of such factors as the draft, the new employment situation, the increase in juvenile delinquency in the younger teen-age group, it was decided to direct attention to the leisure-time needs of young people approximately 13 to 18 years of age.

Eight areas were identified and the composition of the population and certain selected social characteristics were studied. Although no attempt was made to weight the various factors, a composite rating was made, on the basis of which the areas were ranked and three selected for experimental work. The areas vary considerably in size but each represents a well-defined geographical section of the city.

At this point, two other principles were agreed upon: one, that the Group Work Council should not become an operating agency;

the other, that no new agency should be established unless a fair amount of experimentation pointed to the need for one

Since a proposal to utilize school buildings unused to capacity as *school community centers* by employing additional leaders proved impractical, new plans had to be made. It was recognized that the problems to be dealt with were of concern to all the group-work recreation agencies, both public and private, whether they had buildings in the areas or not and that, until further study had been made, it would be impossible to make definite recommendations with respect to types of program, specific forms of organization, and *ultimate responsibility for administration*. It finally was agreed that, for the experimental period, these should be regarded as special projects of the Group Work Council in which a *group* of agencies are cooperating, and for which one agency would be asked to assume some administrative responsibility. Since programs would depend to a great extent upon the interest and participation of residents and agency leaders, the Group Work Council in each case appointed a representative area committee to study further the recreational needs of the 13- to 18-year-old group and to find ways of meeting them more adequately.

In two instances, it was recommended that field workers be appointed and practically the entire amount budgeted was allocated to salaries. These field workers were chosen by the respective committees; each uses a settlement house outside the area as headquarters—the settlement providing office space and administering the budget. The executive of the agency serves as adviser to the committee and to the field worker, but the field worker carries the primary responsibility for the execution of the project.

This apparent lack of clear-cut organizational lines has, at times, caused some confusion, but, in general, people have been willing to deal with organizational problems as they arise and have accepted the fact that, when program patterns emerge more clearly, a de-

cision also will have to be reached with respect to structure and administration.

It is with the two areas in which field workers were employed that the balance of this article will deal.¹ Conditions that prevail in the areas selected are those commonly associated with economically disadvantaged areas. Broken homes, many working mothers, neglected children, vice, juvenile delinquency are all to be found in disturbing proportions. Both areas are culturally heterogeneous. The Kinsman area is relatively small and, within it, there are several clearly defined neighborhoods that provide a unit for community organization on a smaller geographical base.

In the Hough area, which is nearly five times as large, there seems to be no consciousness of neighborhood identity. This includes Cleveland's "Little Hollywood," the "Suitcase" area, the "rooming-house" area, characterized by a high rate of mobility, anonymity, and lack of common social code. It is reported that there is continuous movement of in-migrants from West Virginia, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, but it is difficult to substantiate this with actual figures. This is the typical area in transition, close enough to the downtown business section to have many potential advantages. It is one of the areas mapped out by the City Planning Commission for conservation.

Both areas are barren of noncommercial recreational facilities that appeal to the adolescent. Although several of the city-wide agencies have members in the areas, the number is small. With the exception of one poorly equipped church-supported community center, no private group-work agency has physical facilities in either area. Churches have some usable space, but the majority operate on a "Sunday" basis and laymen, as frequently as clergymen, hesitate to sanction the use of church property for recreational pro-

¹ The writer is indebted to reports of Mary Forman and Mary Jane Fisher, field workers in Kinsman-East 79th Street and Hough Areas respectively, and to conferences with them for much of the material herein presented.

grams In general, school buildings are not available for use after school hours Churches, schools, libraries, and city recreation facilities, however, were all considered as possible resources for expansion of services.

The two area committees each consist of about twenty-five members who, in the main, are professional workers in diverse social agencies, schools, and churches, plus a few residents chosen because of their ability as leaders. The Kinsman Committee meets once a month, the Hough Committee meets on call, but has appointed an interim executive and planning committee of seven members

In the Kinsman project, emphasis was laid on immediate extension of services with the understanding that program would be "carried out" into the area, not centralized in the settlement house, where the field worker had her office

Because of the size, complexity, and apparent lack of stability of the Hough area, the emphasis here was *not* on direct service to adolescent groups. Instead, it was thought that the primary task of the field worker should be one of interpretation and help to local leaders on methods of meeting the needs more effectively.

Between June 1943 and May 1944, the efforts of the Kinsman Committee resulted in the establishment of a summer playground which, during the winter, was flooded for skating, organization of weekly outdoor movies and two street dances with an average attendance of from 400 to 500, development of recreation programs in several churches and libraries, promotion of a day care center; two Christmas parties with an attendance of 80 and 200 respectively; a sewing class for women; and other informal programs Five new groups, under sponsorship of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Reserves (Y W C.A), and Camp Fire Girls were organized, with a total membership of one hundred and three children Nine small informal clubs of boys and girls met in homes, churches, and libraries

Quite as important as the activities themselves is the process by which they have been accomplished, for they are true examples of

joint planning on the part of the area committee, the field worker, and special neighborhood or project committees which have included in their membership young people as well as adults. One of these groups, the Kinsman Citizen's League, is a "nonprofit, non-political group, organized for the purpose of improving conditions in the Kinsman Community," and includes businessmen, housewives, P. T. A. members, air-raid wardens, and two city councilmen. It is concerned with street lighting, juvenile delinquency, and recreation. The 80th Street Neighborhood Committee of Mothers called on every family in Kinsman Homes, a new housing project, and arranged a reception for the newcomers.

The Committee believes that this sort of neighborhood work is essential, but not sufficient; e.g., the lack of physical facilities is regarded as a serious handicap. The field worker has no alternatives to suggest for the hangouts now used by delinquents and potential delinquents; there literally is no place where young people can go after school or in the evening. To meet this problem partially the Committee is seeking a subsidy to open a youth center of the popular "teen-canteen" type, which, it is understood, would be in addition to, not a substitute for, the activities already under way.

In her contacts with professional leaders and residents in the Hough area, the field worker was impressed with the interest shown but, more significantly, with the pessimism which every one seemed to have about the possibility of changing the environment. It was recognized that it would be unwise to promote too vigorous a campaign in the interest of recreation unless there were likelihood of being able to provide programs after interest has been aroused. Much of the time of the field worker, therefore, was devoted to encouraging existing agencies to expand programs and to working with residents on methods of social action.

Between September 1943 and May 1944, 11 new groups or activities were organized by youth-serving agencies; several others have been reorganized; e.g., 115 new members were added to Boy Scout

troops already in the area. The Cleveland Public Library and the City Department of Recreation are cooperating on opening an arts and crafts center at the Inter-cultural Library. A few church leaders are working aggressively to provide recreational programs, some joint planning among the churches is going on. Local teachers and P. T. A. leaders are interested and cooperative. They have extended extracurricular programs and have promoted a few "family night" affairs.

Unquestionably one of the greatest accomplishments has been the mobilization of public opinion with respect to the problem and renewed conviction on the part of many people that they have a responsibility for "doing something" about it. Following are illustrations of ways by which this concern has been expressed: (1) a delegation of residents visited the Superintendent of Schools to present a petition requesting the opening of a junior community center; (2) P. T. A. Councils and small local community groups have expressed to the city and the Board of Education their desire for more playgrounds, (3) an interpretation of the specific needs of the area was presented to the Mayor's Committee on Recreation.

As is true in the Kinsman area, young people of the Hough area are responsive and have expressed a desire for a youth center. The committee feels that the area is so large that, if possible, *three* centers should be opened but has not encouraged the "teen-canteen" idea because of their belief that a more diversified type of community-center program is needed.

Although, as yet, no claims are being advanced about the effectiveness of these projects in combating juvenile delinquency, even the most skeptical must be convinced that the methods used have resulted in considerable progress toward the achievement of the objectives for which they were established; namely, an appreciable expansion of services.

How has this been accomplished and what are the implications for future planning?

1. First, it seems reasonably clear that the development of programs in these underserved areas is a community organization problem which can be solved only by persistent effort *within the area itself*. The contribution of social workers and other professional leaders familiar with the areas has not been repudiated. Instead, the area committees are drawn primarily from these groups, with a few residents also serving as members. Local community groups have been included in many different ways both in planning and executing projects and their participation at the point of social action has been fostered.

2. In areas where a particular problem is of long standing, it may be assumed that the ordinary methods of providing services have not been effective. Therefore, *some new approach has to be developed*. This requires not only continuous interpretation and promotion in order that each organization be encouraged to assume more responsibility itself, but an alertness to the necessity for joint planning and the ability to establish and keep open the channels for cooperative working relationships among a great variety of people and institutions. Through the device of the area committee and a special worker, agencies which ordinarily do not meet have become better acquainted and have unified their efforts in behalf of some common goal. However, the techniques of cooperation have to be learned, often even by group workers. *Field workers, able to apply group-work methods on a broad community base and not responsible for the program of any single agency, would seem to be essential if such projects are to be developed effectively.*

3. The private youth-serving agencies rely, to a very great extent, upon volunteer leadership. It is well known that, in areas of social disorganization, it is difficult to develop community programs on this basis. A high rate of mobility and lack of educational experience intensify the problem. In the Kinsman area, only 6 per cent of the adult population (25 years of age and over) has had four years of

high school or more. In these areas there are people who have a genuine concern about the adverse conditions affecting their children but the number who could be counted on to carry sustained group leadership of the kind expected by most of the national agencies would be small. *Does this point to the need for review of the policy that groups will not be organized until indigenous leaders have been discovered and trained?* In order to move ahead more quickly, might not some thought be given to ways by which local leadership could be supplemented and also more careful consideration given to the responsibilities which adults of different experiences and capacities may assume?

4. The response of young people to co-ed programs, movies, mass recreation, and the "teen-canteen" type of program may be nothing more than a reflection of their interest in having a program similar to that provided for men in uniform. On the other hand, the fact that private agencies with a long experience in work with youth have not, in the past, recruited many members from these areas raises questions about the policies of the agencies and also about some of the rather generally accepted principles of social group work which cannot be elaborated here but which must be examined and reviewed if programs are to be made available to the thousands of young people who live in these areas

5. Although the committees had the extension of recreation as their objective, and their emphasis has been on this particular aspect of community service, their membership has been so representative that they have not operated in a vacuum with respect to other needs. There is some inclination to broaden the function of the committees, but at this stage it is felt that such a development might dissipate interest before the real objective had been achieved

The area projects have dramatized the recreational needs and have stimulated community action with respect to them and since progress is seldom made by advancing on all fronts at once, *it would*

seem to be entirely sound to have functional committees concentrating on methods of strengthening a particular and very badly needed community service.

6. Experience seems to indicate that the present possibilities for expansion of a variety of recreational programs is limited solely by the resources available. Furthermore, this approach inevitably increases awareness of the gaps in the public and semipublic services.

Both projects confirm the need for more physical facilities for recreation. Committees are continuing their efforts to have existing buildings and play space made available, but they realize that progress in that direction can be made only by breaking through the inertia of tradition and hesitate to push too hard. If the various authorities cannot be influenced to modify their policies more quickly, new facilities will undoubtedly be sought.

7 Some reconsideration of the administrative plan is needed. The relationship of the Hough project to a settlement so far away from the area is artificial. The need for at least an office somewhere near the geographical center seems essential in order that the services may be identified more closely with the life of the community. Questions of organization and administration will be reviewed by commissions which recently have been appointed to appraise the experience to date.

The most enthusiastic participants are convinced that the area projects are proving to be demonstrations of democracy in action. However, they are quite realistic in their awareness of problems still to be solved and would agree that the potentialities in each situation far exceed the accomplishments. Satisfaction comes in the ability to see progress in the direction of the goal even though the road to an adequate and more completely integrated program is long and the signposts not always clearly marked.

In conclusion, let it be said, area projects are not new. These are variations on a familiar theme, differing even from the Tremont and Central Area Projects in Cleveland. They are based upon the

assumption that society has a responsibility for eliminating the great inequalities of opportunity that exist among various groups of the population and to bring this about special methods must at times be devised in order to be sure that disadvantaged areas will not continue to be neglected.

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Part II. Coordination on the State Level

CALIFORNIA'S PROGRAM FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Heman G. Stark

The California Youth Authority Act, now a law and in operation, was adapted to California laws and conditions from the model act proposed by the American Law Institute in 1941. The first responsibility of the Youth Authority was to study the problems of correction, treatment, and delinquency prevention throughout California, and plan a remedial program. Recommendations followed leading to the establishment of the present Youth Authority organization, under the direction of Karl Holton, that has the responsibility for seven correctional schools, the diagnostic clinics, parole, probation, and delinquency prevention.

The Delinquency Prevention Division has assumed the responsibility for giving assistance to communities in all phases of delinquency prevention work. During the past year of operation this division has undertaken many projects in the field of community organization, community studies, youth recreation, and programs of educational value.

Projects undertaken by the Delinquency Prevention Division staff have included surveys of youth-serving agencies in many counties throughout the State. These surveys oftentimes lead to recommendations for the creation of new agencies, or the reorganization of existing facilities so that agencies may work more effectively in the treatment and prevention of delinquency at the community level. Studies have been made of delinquency conditions and the work of the agencies responsible for meeting the problems of delinquency throughout California. Special reports have been made of this problem to the Youth Authority, the Governor, the Department of Justice, Youth in Wartime Committee, and many other agencies and organizations throughout California. Much of the credit for the success of the field surveys must go, however, to the State Department of Social Welfare, the State Department of Health, the State Department of Education, and the Federal Security Agency, Recreation Divisions, representatives who have cooperated so splendidly with the Youth Authority in making the various surveys. Our field representatives have met with groups in more than 200 cities during 1944 to discuss ways and means of preventing youthful misbehavior.

One of the major activities in this division has been to assist in the organization of community, neighborhood, coordination, and youth councils. At the outset of the war the organization known as Coordinating Councils Incorporated became inactive because of the loss of its secretary. During the last year representatives of the Youth Authority have been carrying on some of the projects formerly undertaken by Coordinating Councils Incorporated. At the present time our field staff is attempting to keep in touch with more than 200 such councils distributed throughout California. Numerous requests for information regarding various types of community organizational activities have been answered by this division. During the summer of 1944 two conferences of community councils were held in San Jose and Los Angeles, attended by more

than 400 community leaders interested in youth welfare and community planning.

In cooperation with the Secondary Principals Association this division of the Youth Authority organized two delinquency workshops, attended by police officers, probation officers, school counselors, and social workers, in an effort to determine, through the study method, the best standard practice in the field of delinquency prevention. These programs were so successful that the following agencies and organizations have agreed to become co-sponsors of an enlarged workshop program to be carried on during 1945: the Attorney General, the California War Council, the District Attorney's Association, the Association of Secondary Principals, the Association of California Public School Superintendents, the California Teachers Association, the State Department of Education, the American Legion, the Association of Elementary School Principals, the California Congress of Parents and Teachers, the California Probation and Parole Officers Association, the California Peace Officers Association, and the California Conference of Social Welfare. Workshop meetings will be held at Chico State College, San Jose State College, Fresno State College, University of Southern California, and San Diego State College. Special attention will be focused upon a program of in-service training for law-enforcement officers, probation officers, school guidance directors and counselors, and other individuals dealing with children.

The Youth Authority took the leadership in arranging a crime-prevention conference at the University of Southern California, in an effort to encourage the promotion of juvenile control bureaus in police departments and sheriffs' offices throughout California. This meeting met with enthusiastic response from law-enforcement officials everywhere and was well attended by more than 400 officers.

To date the Delinquency Prevention Division has attempted to work with a few projects and has not attempted to cover the whole field of delinquency prevention. It is hoped during the coming

years to give assistance to other organizations interested in delinquency prevention not mentioned in this report in an effort to reduce the continuous upward trend of juvenile delinquency.

Throughout 1944 a citizens' committee of seventeen members, known as the Committee on Youth in Wartime of the California State War Council, was appointed by Governor Earl Warren, with Dr Robert A. McKibben, of Los Angeles, as chairman, and Judge Frank C Ogden, of Oakland, vice-chairman.

The Delinquency Prevention Division staff has assisted in carrying out many of the suggestions of the Youth in Wartime Committee, including study of transient youth, community recreation, youth centers, high delinquency areas, and has reported all surveys and studies to this committee.

The staff of this Division has been supplemented by five field representatives through the War Council. All field representatives assist with field studies but may have other assignments in their fields of specialization. Special consultative service is available in community organization, juvenile control, youth centers, community recreation, community and coordinating councils.

At the suggestion of the Youth in Wartime Committee, the Delinquency Prevention Division has conducted a series of youth conferences in San Jose, Los Angeles, Petaluma, Sacramento, and Compton, bringing together more than 1,000 youth and youth group leaders for the purpose of discussing the best methods of organizing youth centers and youth councils. Mr Roy Votaw and Mr. Curtis Whaley have been chosen executive secretaries of the youth centers' and councils' organization for northern and southern California respectively, to assist in the further development of the program.

Following our study of youth centers a report entitled "Teen Centers," which is a review of the various types of youth centers now in operation throughout California, has been released. This Division has also published "An Outline of a Community Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency." The representatives

of the Youth Authority have worked with the many Districts of the Congress of Parents and Teachers, and with other organizations throughout California, in an effort to develop community programs for the prevention of delinquency.

That the work has been successful so far is attested by the fact that numerous requests for community surveys, assistance in organizing community councils, youth centers, juvenile bureaus, and counseling and guidance programs are coming from most of the counties in California. The appropriation for this work has been more than doubled. Looking to the future, we expect to encourage participation by many agencies not now actively working with young people, and to provide information and "know how" to agencies and organizations throughout California.

Heman G. Stark is Chief of the Delinquency Prevention Division of the California Youth Authority

NEW YORK STATE'S PROGRAM FOR PREVENTING DELINQUENCY

Ralph B. Spence

Juvenile delinquency is one index to the successfulness of social organization. The more adequately we utilize resources that are available to help children in the process of growing up, the lower will be our delinquency rates.

The conditions accompanying the war tended to increase the rates of delinquency and to focus public attention upon the problem. In October 1943 Governor Dewey asked the Commissioners of Correction, Education, Mental Hygiene and Social Welfare and the Chairman of the Board of Parole to advise him regarding the situation in New York State. This group has been meeting regularly under the chairmanship of the Assistant Counsel to the Governor.

At various times representatives of other State agencies have met with the group to advise it on special aspects of the problem.

At the start the committee agreed that the major problem was to provide a plan of action and not to make just another report which would be filed without producing any basic change in the localities. There is no assumption here that we know all there is to know about delinquency. This is far from true. Research should be continued wherever possible. On the other hand far more is known about preventing delinquency than is utilized by most communities. The problem was to work out a plan by which localities could be encouraged to tackle the problem on a comprehensive basis.

The basic principles underlying any such plan are obvious. First we know a good deal about the symptoms of behavior difficulties. It should therefore be possible to locate at an early age those children who might be designated as "vulnerables." The earlier these cases can be detected the more promising will be the prognosis.

Having located these children the next step is less easy because it involves the coordination of many different groups whose interests are not always directed entirely toward helping children grow up. We know a good deal about the minimum essentials for a twenty-four-hour-a-day program for boys and girls. With our present organization of economic resources it is not easy to provide these minimum essentials for every vulnerable. The task of the committee was to devise a plan that would help to utilize more fully the existing resources than to fill in the gaps where resources were inadequate.

Each child grows up in a specific community. The task of preventing delinquency is therefore a local responsibility in the sense that whatever is done must be done in that concrete situation, taking full account of the existing agencies with their complements of personnel. The State can provide help, but the community itself must be willing to tackle the problem wholeheartedly.

Since the plan is to be a community-wide plan, the committee felt that it would be important to center responsibility in the official organization which represents the total community; namely, the municipal government. It is proposed that the municipality set up a youth bureau which will be responsible for coordinating the available resources and taking steps to extend them where necessary.

At the State level there is need for a central agency to coordinate the existing resources of the various State agencies, to provide some financial aid to the localities, and to serve in an advisory capacity to speed the utilization of good practices. To serve this function the committee recommended that there be set up the youth service commission.¹ This commission would have a staff to enable it to work closely with the localities in getting projects started on a sound basis.

To carry out these proposals the committee recommended legislation that would set up such a commission and would provide financial aid to the localities. This financial aid would assist in the establishment of the local youth bureaus and in developing recreational projects which are one major need in most communities.

In any program for preventing delinquency the schools will necessarily have a major role to play. The schools have practically all the children during the elementary-school period and they also have a trained staff. This staff frequently needs help in a clearer understanding of behavior problems but it is the largest potential resource in the community for locating vulnerables.

When the committee began its study the Department of Education set up its own committee to explore what the Department could do in strengthening the work of the schools. Because the work of the schools in dealing with behavior problems must necessarily be closely related to the work of the other community agencies, the

¹ The proposal for a State youth service commission is described in detail in the *Interim Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Delinquency, Part I, Preventing Juvenile Delinquency, Proposals for a State Program* (Albany, December 1944), 22 pp.

Department of Education also appointed a representative advisory committee to assist its own committee in developing its program.

The schools' greatest contribution can be in the detection of the vulnerables. This involves an intensive program for increasing understanding among school staff of the characteristics of behavior problems, of the establishment of a definite plan for referring serious cases, and of strengthening the program of the schools to help these children to the fullest possible extent. Where a community has set up a central youth bureau, the cases located by the school would be referred to this bureau. Where no such bureau existed, the school itself would have to take the responsibility for coordinating its efforts with the other community agencies.

The vulnerables are frequently those children who do not fit the typical school pattern. When the committee was considering the question of what the schools could do to prevent delinquency, it found that the suggestions were the same as ones made for a good school program for any child. The chief need is not so much to devise new patterns as to find ways of utilizing these patterns for a small group of children with special characteristics. We have done an excellent job in building up a school program that will take care of a large percentage of children. We cannot rest satisfied, however, until we have acquired the skill necessary to meet the needs of 100 per cent of the children. It is necessary therefore that each school carefully check its curriculum, its guidance program, its recreation program, its other services to see if these are taking care of the special needs of the vulnerable group.

The suggestions to the schools along these lines have been incorporated in a departmental pamphlet entitled "Schools Against Delinquency." A number of school systems have already initiated such a plan on a comprehensive basis. It is hoped that it will be possible to get additional aid to provide supervisory help to extend the plan more widely.

While no detailed account has been given above regarding the

work of other community agencies—home, church, social agencies, youth-serving agencies, police—the plan of the interdepartmental group and of the schools provide for the fullest possible cooperative action. The patterns in these areas are less clear and will have to be worked out as we go along.

It is sometimes suggested that juvenile delinquency is a problem of the urban centers and that the rural areas need not concern themselves with the program. It is true that urban concentration does accentuate certain types of delinquent behavior. On the other hand all children in the nonurban areas who show signs of difficulty need help in order to achieve satisfactory behavior patterns. With the high mobility rates many nonurban children later move to urban areas. It is important that the program be one that will as soon as possible reach all the children of the State.

As was indicated above, no plan *per se* will meet the problem of delinquency. In general we have the amount of delinquency society is willing to accept. The hope is that, with the problem dramatized by war conditions, public support can be mobilized behind the measures outlined. If careful records of achievement can be kept, it may then be possible to show clearly what can be achieved and thereby stimulate a wider and wider participation in the program.

Ralph B. Spence, a member of the research staff of the New York State Education Department, is Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Part III. Coordination on the National Level

NATIONAL YOUTH CONSERVATION— A POSITIVE APPROACH TO YOUTH NEEDS

The Honorable Anna M. Kross

During these war years, glaring defects in the nation's provision for youth have been brought dramatically and often shockingly, to the surface. There is now an awareness and a greater concern than ever before, and a recognition that all the many and carefully conceived programs, activities, and services directed toward youth needs have fallen short of these needs.

Throughout the country, agencies long accustomed to providing for youth are seeking to make their programs match the temper of the times. There are many kinds of agencies and patterns of service available under whose auspices various activities can be conducted. These plans, however, on all levels, national, State, or local, are uncoordinated.

The situation that confronts us requires more than the development of one particular service or another—not merely another recreation program, another employment service, another political club or another youth center. What we need now is an over-all national plan.

We are on the eve of victory, and with victory will come one of the most difficult tasks with which America has been confronted. We have been lavishly expending our youth, not only on the battle fronts, but on the home front as well. Our youth is vulnerable—but not *expendable*.

We are facing a postwar world that has not yet tackled the youth problem. When demobilization begins, we will have a large number of boys and girls under 21, who have gone through the demoraliz-

ing effects of warfare. Great dislocation and unemployment are inevitable. Thousands of young people have entered the labor forces during the present emergency. Teen-age youths leaving school in this period, as well as those who will lose employment, and those who will be demobilized will be confronted with unprecedented situations.

It is essential that wise and timely action be taken to meet these problems for the preservation and future of our democracy. Our delinquency rate is growing alarmingly, and it will continue to increase. Unless we meet this challenge, the situation will indeed be tragic. The postwar planning for youth cannot be put off any longer.

For the preservation of our democracy and for the maintenance of the peace we are all praying for, we will have to face the prospects of *peacetime compulsory military service of our youth*. Both *conscription* and *peacetime military service of our youth* are new ventures for America. We should now use this opportunity for a well-thought-out and integrated program for the education and development of a sound citizenry, on a national scale. We must learn from the mistakes we made after the last war. Peace was followed by crime waves, and by the greatest economic depression in the history of the world, as a result of which a great price in an increased number of youthful criminals was paid by us.

The Wickersham Report, a monumental effort, indicated the need at that time for a long-range plan to curb crime and to protect our youth. But we ignored it. Senator Pepper has recently completed a series of hearings of the Committee on Wartime Health and Education in which the picture of the present condition of our youth is vividly portrayed. And in the interim report of his committee, Senator Pepper indicates the need for and recommends long-range postwar planning for youth, if we are to avoid the mistakes we made after the last war.

America cannot afford to ignore some of the glaring and shocking conditions that have been revealed by the Selective Service

Board. Our press casually mentioned that over 600,000 were rejected because of illiteracy, and 1,500,000 were rejected because of physical unfitness.

Recently at a convention of the National Education Association, where a charter for rural education was urged, it was again pointed out that "one out of every twenty registrants for Selective Service has been found to be totally illiterate, and two out of every five found to have gone no further than the grade school." The total inadequacy of the physical school facilities, and the lack of adequate personnel, and the pitifully inadequate salaries to teachers were also pointed out. Can we continue to ignore the situation when 40 per cent of our young men fall below the minimum reasonable standards of education and health, as revealed by the wartime draft? Can there be any greater challenge to America than (1) the increasing rise in delinquency, (2) the shockingly low physical and educational level of our present generation.

A national program for youth must necessarily recognize that its effectiveness depends on implementation on a local level. Such a program would need the support of both public and private resources. In each State the governor's aid should be enlisted to the end that he appoint a youth conservation committee of outstanding citizens, lay and professional, representing a cross-section of the community, from a civic, social and religious aspect. The primary and ultimate function of such a committee should be to provide adequate and essential services and opportunities for youth, such as:

1. An enriched general educational curriculum for all youth, as well as for the returning soldier.
2. Extension of student aid in the form of scholarships, loans, or allowances to young persons who need it to enable them to take advantage of these educational opportunities. This means funds, not only for tuition, but for necessary living expenses, laboratory fees, etc.
3. Appropriate job opportunities for young persons in private employment, and private and public programs, as well as veterans

4 Restoration of the legal standards for employment of children and youth that have been modified because of the war emergency, and revision upward of existing inadequate standards.

5. Provisions for meeting the health needs of youth, including extension and improvement of medical and psychiatric examinations for children in school and for youth under 18 years of age entering employment, and assistance in correction of physical defects

6. Fuller utilization of school facilities The school to be the focal point of community activity.

7 Earlier location and recognition in children of potential behavior difficulties. Adaptations needed in school activities to meet the needs of such children Guidance clinics. Parental education and forums Cooperation with the parents of these children, by teachers and social workers

8 Utilization of churches for the more effective implementation of religious training, and greater emphasis on high standards of morals.

9 The establishment of parent guidance clinics, mother-daughter clubs, father-son clubs

10 Parent responsibilities fostered and encouraged through programs in churches, schools, and community. Parent, teachers and student associations.

11. Respect for police and authority Closer cooperation with public authority, social agencies, courts and police

12 Self-government experiment by youth for training in citizenship.

The approach must be to see the young men and women as whole persons, with many varied needs and interests, energies and enthusiasms, desires for both security and adventure, for facing and living their lives with their own age group as well as their elders. Youth must be allowed to participate as friends and co-workers and as active members of a functioning democracy

We have been willing to cooperate with youth simply because of the war emergency. Ten per cent of our population are the youth between 16 and 21, twelve million strong, a great majority of whom have worked in factories, stores, offices, at a much earlier age than is usual in our country. They are not going back to sitting at a school desk to finish their education unless we are prepared to give them

the kind of education they want and in which they see a real future for themselves.

There is a sort of political illiteracy among our youth that seems out of keeping with the history of revolutionary, constitution-making America. The interest and knowledge of our youth concerning important issues of national history and welfare, of world war and peace, of government and democracy, of labor and industry seem far behind that of Continental youth. Election-time partisanship is a deceptive gauge of political maturity. Political morals also might well be raised with more youthful participation.

Public interest in thousands of places throughout the country must be channeled behind existing efforts in behalf of youth and stimulated into devising new measures where none now exist to meet the need. The core, then, of meeting the youth problem effectively, must be an affirmative attitude and approach on a national scale.

The problems of young people can neither be delegated to nor served exclusively by the agencies and institutions that up to this time have been set up for this purpose. The fundamental basis must spring from a wide sense of recognition and active participation by all manner of groups.

Shocking and regrettable as is the picture of our delinquents, America can still be proud of the fine showing its youth has made, not only on all the far-flung battle fronts, but also on the home front, in this tense and difficult war period. Let us do everything we possibly can now to prevent any avoidable increase in delinquency after the war is over.

Give American youth half a chance, and the future of America is secure!

The Honorable Anna M. Kross of the New York Magistrates Courts is a leader locally, in New York State, and nationally in developing programs of coordination for youth service and conservation

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EDITORIAL

Last spring, when the editors discussed this number of *THE JOURNAL* with Dr. Gross, we felt that one aspect of reconstruction of Europe was likely to be overlooked; namely, the underlying philosophies of the people themselves. Different cultures produce different ways of life and different values. These values are usually more important to the group than is life itself. Consequently, if behavior were to be understood, it would be necessary to understand this cultural background.

We agreed that Prussianism, Hitlerism, and the authoritarian pattern of life in Germany could not be understood without understanding German respect for discipline, and the philosophical point of view of numerous German philosophers. Likewise, when the British were sending their children to America during the blitz, they sent along a little handbook which carried the gems of English literature and philosophy. These were the things men were dying for.

Obviously, programs of reconstruction must take this into account, for not only does this cultural mass represent values but it is the basic ingredient of personality. Well-meaning persons, particularly Americans, are likely to feel that the resources we share with these nations through lend-lease and relief should be used as instruments of indoctrination toward our way of life. This could be

disastrous. Charity frequently impoverishes those who give and does not enrich those who receive if, in the process, the integrity of personality of the recipient is violated. Such violation cannot help but take place if strings are attached to the gifts made.

Basic *human* values must be kept foremost in the projected programs. Such programs must be built on the philosophy of cultural pluralism rather than deadening uniformity. This philosophy has been taught by Dean E. George Payne for many years

The viewpoints expressed in the articles are not necessarily those of the Editorial Board, but they are, we hope, enough of a crystallization of thought from the countries dealt with that they will be a guide for our readers' thinking about postwar reconstruction.

DAN W. DODSON

IDEOLOGIES AND THE COMING EUROPE

Feliks Gross

Postwar educational trends in Europe may, in many respects, depend upon philosophies and background ideologies which the European peoples will voluntarily or involuntarily follow. Since religion lost its determining position in this field, philosophies and background ideologies have become, in an indirect sense, even more important factors in educational trends and policy.

Fascism, nazism, and communism decisively influenced the educational philosophies of Italy, Germany, and Russia. In a democratic society there is a greater variation in ideologies and educational policies, thanks to its ideological and philosophical pluralism. Don Luigi Sturzo discusses this problem most ably in his contribution. There have been various trends in education, but the democratic philosophy was still the backbone of these trends in countries where democracy was not a slogan but a way of life.

What will be the background philosophy and the ideologies of

European peoples after the war is of primary importance for post-war educational reconstruction. The vague reply to the effect that this education will be democratic is not satisfactory: the meaning of "democratic" must be adequately defined. Furthermore, democracy in many countries is regarded as a problem of form not of content—a form for the free development of ideas. Finally, there is no certainty that we are going to have democracy in Europe after the war. Above all, European philosophical and ideological backgrounds will be shaped by several existent factors.

First, Europe will be divided into military spheres. Consequently, the dominant power—the controlling ally or conqueror as in the case of Germany—will willingly or unwillingly exert its ideological influence to a greater or lesser degree. For instance, Germany's ideological background will definitely be influenced by the occupation, but nazism will still be a tremendous problem after the war. Even among the anti-nazis, educated in nazified schools, there have developed reactions which are entirely alien to our ethical principles.

Second, Europe's economic and social conditions will be powerful factors in its ideological development. And, third, there will be a struggle between two conflicting kinds of ideologies: the various ideologies of the underground and the remnants of the philosophies introduced by the totalitarian conquerors and rulers which also found acceptance because of the already existing domestic trends of chauvinism.

The emphasis in the news on the heroic resistance of the oppressed peoples overshadows two facts—that everywhere more or less large groups collaborated with the nazis; that, willy-nilly, nazi propaganda acting through various channels, the schools for instance, poisoned a number of characters. Collaborationism was a disease which affected not only individuals but also groups, and even in the resisting countries of Eastern Europe where resistance movements occupied a dominant position from the very beginning nazi occupation must have left some traces. It would be a mistake, there-

fore, to base our opinions of these countries solely on their resistance movements and the patriotic spirit of a part of the population.

There is also another aspect to this problem: one of the results of nazi conquest is appeasement. There were many individuals who compromised with evil and even with crime and who assimilated methods of settling their affairs that will probably be carried over into the future. The new philosophies and ideologies coming from the underground will have to meet these realities and to cope with them.

But there is more than just one "underground ideology." A great bulk of the underground movement is *in sensu largo* an equalitarian movement—socialist, populist, peasant, and democratic. The background philosophy is frequently of a socialist character, but strong humanistic and federalistic (advocating a federal solution in Europe and a world organization) tendencies are apparent.

The individual, not the state, is the supreme end and the essence of this humanistic philosophy. The authority of the state under the influence of totalitarianism became a plaything for whomever the common people were forced to sacrifice themselves. For the common man it meant oppression and "Polizeistaat" (Police State) where nearly every one was more or less suspected and prisons became national institutions. Moreover, nazism and fascism have brought about an anti-ethical attitude toward life. Oppression and contempt for the weaker, even for the physically weaker, have replaced mutual help and support.

In short, the peoples of Europe have witnessed such an amount of crime, cruelty, and evil that many have come to realize that our basic rules of decency, our very ethical principles, are right now at stake; and that, notwithstanding the various political shadows, we must unite in order to re-establish this very basis of a true society. This is the core of neohumanistic European tendencies.

Then there is the communist philosophy with a smaller following than is generally realized in this country, which derives its strength from the military success and support of the Soviet Union.

Also, nationalism is not yet dead. In fact all underground movements were greatly imbued with national feeling in their reaction to national oppression. This feeling ranged in intensity from patriotism to extreme nationalism, and even the communist movement was nationalistic in character and employed nationalistic slogans. The milder form of nationalism reconciled itself with federal ideas. Although nationalism will not disappear entirely after the war and will certainly play a part in ideological developments, its dangers can be avoided by strengthening the federalistic and humanistic tendencies.

Rightist groups are mostly compromised because of their collaboration with the nazis (as in France), and the role of those in the underground struggle who did not collaborate was relatively small.

The "underground ideologies" after liberation are becoming "the postwar ideologies and background philosophies" in their initial stage.

Which of them will be the strongest, which of them will rule? The populist, socialist, and democratic movements strongly influenced by humanistic ideas certainly play an essential part at present. But their future strength will also depend upon outside backing—and in Eastern Europe the communists are the favored ones.

Perhaps some of the really important currents are still undetectable. In 1916 only a few predicted the great success of the bolsheviks, and fascism and nazism were not yet born. Perhaps some of the great currents will still appear quite unexpectedly.

Europe needs a rebirth of humanistic values and a democratic framework to enable various philosophies and ideologies so characteristic of European culture to develop. But whether there will be the opportunity for such a development depends upon many factors, some of which are independent of the peoples involved.

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IN FRANCE: RESISTANCE AND HUMANISM

Paul Vignaux

For the past four years the substance of French life has been called *resistance*, a word full of meaning. André Gide has written: "To resist is to act and it is not always by the affirmative that the individual affirms himself." What is this conception of man that the French expressed in their act of resistance? Has the French humanism acquired some new traits after this trial of four years?

In order to answer this question clearly, one must remember that modern France has been in a state of dialogue with herself for centuries—dialogue between Christian humanism and secular humanism.

The outstanding publication of religious resistance, which was also the richest in thought among the underground publications, *Cahiers du Témoignage Chrétien* (Notebooks of Christian Testimony), has been chiefly the revival, in the face of the enemy, of the leading ideas of Catholic French renaissance between the two wars. Historians of religious sentiment, who will look in these *Cahiers* for the spirituality of the resistance, will be able to define it as a *spirituality befriending reason*. To the anti-Semitic who want to exclude the Jews from the French community, the *Cahiers* answer: "We should like them to know what is the nature of this mysterious community which possesses its members through the fatality of flesh and blood. Would it be that the French nation is so foreign to the principles and influence of reason?" Against nazism, these Christians of France do not only invoke the Word of God, they still defend a rationalistic conception of human society; and although convinced of the eminent value of charity, they maintain the classical request of the secular humanism imbued with the idea of justice: "There are moments when one must not yield and when justice dominates charity. The charity which permits justice to die in the conscience of men is a false charity, a

weakness unworthy of a Christian." In order to measure the resonance of such words in the spiritual history of France, one must remember Proudhon. Proudhon considered the idea of Justice as the very principle of the opposition, irreconcilable, according to him, between the Revolution and the Church. The Christians of the resistance wanted to surmount this opposition. They were led to this undertaking by the thinking of such men as Jacques Maritain, who have pointed out in Christianity a source of integral humanism, of heroic humanism.

It seems, that, between the two wars, the success in France of a new Christian humanism is due, in part at least, to the deficiencies of the secular humanism. The philosophy of Leon Brunschvicg, the last of the great French philosophies of progress, was doubtless in its last stages on the eve of the war and during this war itself a humanism. But in its inception, the wisdom of Brunschvicg belongs to the last years of the nineteenth century, to this great epoch of the French university that was the Dreyfus Affair. Still, in a group of the resistance itself, in the group Combat of Paris, we discover a new form of secular humanism—the one which emerges from the *philosophy of the absurd* of Albert Camus or of the *existentialism* of Jean Paul Sartre. Sartre is not afraid to refer to Heidegger. He believes intellectual autarchy just as dangerous as economic autarchy. But anguish for him "does not distinguish itself from the sense of responsibilities"; "despair is but one and the same with the will; with despair begins a true optimism, the optimism of a man who knows he has no rights and nothing is due to him, who rejoices in counting on himself alone and in acting alone for the good of all." "Here is," says Sartre, "this motto of man that we do our own. to do and through doing to do oneself and to be nothing else than that one has done oneself." This can be a motto for the young men of Combat who have inscribed in the front of their paper, the most excellently written and thought of the Parisian dailies, "From the resistance to the revolution." For

the first four months of the liberation, Albert Camus wrote the editorials of *Combat*. This work being, according to him, "the exercise of some rules of conscience which politics, it seems to us, has not made, up to now, much use of." Camus enters public life as a moralist, with the thought in mind both of the drama of a France and a Europe exhausted by two wars and the conviction that "no human task is impossible to man, men are only and precisely what we need." Such is the language of *Combat*: "the language of a generation brought up in the sight of injustice, a generation ignoring God, loving man and resolved to serve him against a destiny so often unreasonable."

The humanism of these unbelievers, as that of Maritain, is essentially *antitotalitarian*. Still the Christians who see God beyond the world could say with Camus: "the human person embodies all we respect in the world." The ones and the others are facing the same problem: when passing from resistance to revolution, one must pass from ethics to politics; moral philosophy was perhaps enough to resist, to refuse the national-socialism and the hypocrisy of Vichy. But now these same men who condemned both fascism and all realistic politics must find a political creed. At the same time that it turns its attention toward public life, the new French humanism must not lose sight of its foundations: man, no longer as "a nature fixed for ever," but man as a historical being. In this search, it must not be forgotten that "France, having lost her material power, cannot afford this luxury, to lie." It is once again Albert Camus who reminds his friends of these words of a French writer: "If I am not clear, my entire world is annihilated." Let us wish with him, to France, for the benefit of Europe, "the courage of clear thinking."

LAOCRACY VERSUS CONSERVATISM IN GREECE

Basil John Vlavianos

Perhaps there is no better proof that we are living in "One World" than the striking similarity of the ideological trends that prevail in various nations today. Everywhere there is an impulse toward the integration of popular forces which would provide a new solution to the age-old conflict between progress and conservatism.

In Greece this impulse found its expression in the popular resistance movement represented primarily by the coalition of political parties known as the National Liberation Front or EAM.

These parties, usually designated as leftist, are inspired by the ideology of laocracy.

They use this word to express an ideological combination of liberalism and socialism, covering the broad field of ideas which pertain to the moral, material, and intellectual advancement of the common man. The entire literature of the EAM is animated by this ideology.

In the political domain, laocracy implies a democratic form of government with popular institutions, free elections, secret ballot, equal right for men and women to vote. Laocracy seeks freedom of speech, press, and religion of organization and association, freedom from want and fear. It calls for the fair administration of justice and for the democratization of the armed forces.

In the economic field, laocracy stands for the abolition of many old-fashioned taxes and assessments which have prevented free development in the production and circulation of goods and which have placed an unreasonable burden upon the consumer. Laocracy would nationalize the big banks, the heavy industries, and the chief means of communication. It would bring the benefits of modern science to agricultural and industrial production and to the exploitation of the natural wealth of the country. Under a laocratic regime, the great estates would be expropriated and the peasant would enjoy a maximum of economic independence.

In the social sphere, laocracy favors substantial care for the poor and middle classes, social-security insurance against death, illness, accident, old age, disability, and unemployment, better working and living conditions in urban and rural areas, extensive public works, social service, protection of the public health, the provision of adequate recreational facilities.

Internationally, laocracy looks toward a peaceful policy of understanding and collaboration among nations. Those who espouse the ideal of laocracy in Greece consider that they are justified in demanding respect for its freedom, independence, and territorial integrity. This attitude is well illustrated by an appeal made during the Axis occupation by a secret organization of the women of Greece to the free women of the world. After describing their own plight, they said this:

We wish you to give us a great promise. The promise that tomorrow, when the hour of victory will strike, united together we shall ask and even demand the creation of a new world, free of any tyrannical forms, without arms and destruction, a world based on personal liberty and universal social justice.

In the intellectual domain, laocracy defends the fundamental principles of liberalism and seeks the greatest possible cultural advancement of the people. It favors obligatory and free education, the creation of popular universities and scientific centers, the encouragement of scientific, literary, and artistic endeavor. The followers of laocracy in Greece are proud of their great intellectual and cultural heritage, but they condemn any rigid adherence to the past. They believe in a neohellenic civilization and in the ability of the people to reach new cultural heights. Toward that end, they believe, people must concentrate upon contemporary realities, using their great traditions and knowledge of the great achievements of their ancestors only as a stimulus to their own creative activity. Their conviction is that respect for the past can be better manifested by greater

confidence in themselves and in the future and that what Greece needs is to place emphasis on progress rather than on tradition.

Conservatism, as the term is used here, is the ideology expounded by those who want and fight to conserve their privileges. It is the antithesis of everything that would endanger those privileges and, consequently, of every force that would strengthen the position of the common man. It is represented by the right-wing parties and especially the royalists and, of course, by the few fascists active in Greece.

The conservative elements favor the continuation of the monarchy and generally of autocratic regimes or at least of a democracy for the privileged ones, as against a government of popular democracy. They want a kind of limited freedom that would entail the enforcement of "order" by a more or less centralized administration. They oppose any heavy taxation on wealth or any bold social reform. And as they adhere to outmoded political and economic theories, so do they preach a passive and servile acceptance of the ancient Greek civilization, thus inhibiting true creative effort.

Greek conservative elements try to distract popular attention from their antipopular stand in internal affairs by a strident nationalism. They present themselves as the sole defenders of Greek territorial claims and accuse their opponents of neglecting them. An utterly false accusation.

The conflict between laocracy and conservatism in Greece is well illustrated by the long controversy over language. When Greece regained its freedom in 1828, it was faced with an acute linguistic problem. There were at least four variations of the Greek language in use at the time: classical Greek, medieval ecclesiastical, the language of the educated classes, and the vernacular spoken by the masses. Both the ancient and the medieval Greek that came down to us were literary rather than spoken languages. True, the medieval ecclesiastical Greek was used by the Greek Orthodox Church, but

even the priests had difficulty in understanding it. The Greek spoken by the educated classes was an amalgom of classical, Byzantine, and modern vernacular. It varied according to persons and circumstances, having no rules of grammar or syntax.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, two schools of thought grew up, each calling for a different solution of the linguistic problem. They have quarreled continuously and, perhaps, will continue to quarrel even now, after the adoption of the popular language by the government. One school was for the recognition and cultivation of the language spoken and understood by the people; the other for the closest possible return to the ancient Greek. This group tried to relate the question of language to nationalistic considerations and believed, like Herder and Fichte, that national continuity and homogeneity would be guaranteed by the revival of the old language. Later, when the study of linguistic laws had established the complete impossibility of checking the evolution of a language, this school continued to stick to its guns, partly out of ignorance, partly out of hostility to an expression of the people's aspirations.

During the first part of this century, the fight for the vernacular language assumed far greater importance than ever before, for the division between the forces of reaction and of progress grew deeper.

The controversy spread to the entire field of education. The struggle between classical and what has been called modern education became acute. The progressive parties started an intensive educational reform. It was one of the many aspects of the reform made imperative in the early years of the century by the increasing industrialization of the country and its territorial expansion after the Balkan wars (1912-1913) and World War I. To change the existing villages before 1919 into cities and industrial centers, it was necessary to equip the masses and the elite of the nation with new intellectual tools.

The conservatives, whenever they have been in power, have always

tried to block reform. They rarely, however, kept the controversy on a scientific level and they did not hesitate to attack their opponents in the most unfair manner and to accuse some of the best contemporary minds in Greece of being communists, atheists, and enemies of family life. Some were even accused of vegetarianism, which was presented as a new device of the devil.

It is not coincidental that the long struggle over modern Greek language was finally concluded by the National Council, elected during the German occupation. At an historic session on May 27, 1944, held at Koryschades, a small mountain village of central Greece, the National Council decided that the "official language of Greece for all the manifestation of public life and all the degrees of instruction" should be "the language of the people." And the decision has been adopted also by the present Greek Government.

The laocratic movement is today closer than ever to materializing its ideas. The reactionary elements inside the country have lost much of their strength. If they are not bolstered by reactionary interests abroad, they will no longer be able to frustrate the normal development of the progressive forces in the country—forces that are part of the people's movement everywhere.

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THE IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF FUTURE SPAIN*

Alfredo Mendizabal

If it is difficult to predict what the different peoples of Europe, who have taken a direct part in the war, will be like, in the near post-

* Translated by Marie Calvet

war world, then it is even more difficult to foresee the future of Spain, in view of its peculiar international situation, as well as by virtue of its own emotional, political, and social reactions. The unpredictable is, there, an element which one must always expect and the unexpected appears to be a paradox, because it does not always follow ordinary logic. It surprises and disconcerts one. But it has its internal logic, even though it may escape our forecasts

The events within Spain follow a different pattern from that of other nations. But in the present catastrophe, Spain was the country to give the first warning. Within the country and at her own expense was presented the bloody prologue to the drama whose enactment one observes clearly, but whose epilogue one cannot foretell. The characters of the prologue are, nevertheless, the same ones who appear in the remaining scenes of the drama in the grand theater of the world. On this world stage have been projected, since 1939, the same forces that clashed in Spain since 1936. The same forces and a few more, inasmuch as the democracies, who had closed their eyes and ears to the terrible conflict in its preliminary Spanish phase, were to enter upon the scene precisely because they did not know how or did not want to (I shall not say that they were not able) cut at the roots of the evil. The Spanish War had been an international *coup d' état*. Its prolongation has been and is today a civil war of the world. And if during its development quite a few contingent factors have altered the respective initial positions, upon coming out of the blood bath, numerous peoples of Europe whose vital aspiration was liberty show themselves vacillating and obfuscated by the totalitarian temptation. One of the gravest mischiefs of the dictatorial regimes experimented in Europe is that internal dialectic system that develops in the mentality of peoples a "reactionary" tendency, in the etymological sense of the word. Against a type of tyranny, there are people who see no other remedy but an opposite tyranny. The fear of one extreme may cause one to fall into the opposite extreme if it is forgotten that solutions exist which escape the stupid dilemma

Spain is an example, in this aspect, of what one ought not to do. In 1931, on the proclamation of the republic, Spain had no fascists or communists worthy of consideration. But Don Quixote wanted to continue to challenge the windmills to combat. Antifascism and anticommunism brought to a white heat by a phenomenon of reaction brought about the feared result. That is how democracy found itself helpless, between opposite tendencies that only coincided in being antiliberal.

A violent pendular movement has periodically jolted Spain since 1923, when the constitutional monarchy forsook its legal basis in embarking on a dictatorial adventure. The first natural implication of that fundamental deviation was the abolishment of the absolute regime, as soon as it lacked the material support of a military dictatorship. On the establishment of the republic, the exemplary act of having changed the regime without the loss of a drop of blood could have made one believe that the Spaniards had finally found the social and political equilibrium which could give stability to the new institutions. This is what the liberals of the moderate groups of the right and left were trying to do, attempting to constitute a central zone that would avoid violent shake-ups. But the same good will failed to appear in the extremists, many of whom deplored the absence of revolutionary violence; and the sectarianism of the parties of the left quickly came to the front in the election for "Constituent Cortes" and in the constitutional legislation, especially under the aspect of measures against the liberty of the Catholics (who numbered a majority in the country) and against the religious congregations. Instead of attracting to the republic the elements which, having been monarchial, were on the whole willing to accept the new regime, they tried to separate themselves and proscribe themselves from them. Resentment dominated on both sides and the intolerant wing of the parties of the right instead of fighting with legal methods that it still had at its disposal decided to conspire against the regime. The opposition between the right and left be-

came irreconcilable. And when the constituent period passed, the moderate wing of the rightists attended the new election and tried, after attaining an electoral victory, to change the direction of the republic, the reticence with which it resigned itself to tolerate the regime, rather than to accept it loyally, gave the republicans the impression that monarchism and even semifascist reaction was trying to conquer the fortress of the republic by boring from within. Socialists, anarchists, and communists rose against the government in 1934, when they saw it in the hands of their adversaries, as later, in 1936, after the electoral triumph of the Popular Front, the monarchists, traditionalists, and falangists rose against the reaction of the left and hurled themselves into the Civil War. The stupidity, the provocations, and the intransigency of the extreme elements of one side and the other deepened the abyss that separated the opposing violent minorities, while the large majority of the Spanish public, that was neither fascist nor communist, saw itself unable to restore the necessary equilibrium, exactly because of its manner of reacting to changing situations, in which the republic was dominated by groups that declared their incompatibility for each other.

The Civil War managed to polarize about the most violent minority parties, the whole life of the country, and the triumph of the insurrection headed by General Franco with the direct support of Hitler and Mussolini succeeded in establishing the falangist regime, which is repugnant to the majority of the Spanish people and not only to the republicans. Barely 15 per cent of the country supports the ferocious dictatorship that oppresses the rest of the nation, but this does not mean that the ideal of the nonconformists rests upon the simple and pure return of the Popular Front. Even among exiled republicans, those who have a great feeling of responsibility consider that hypothesis as a catastrophe. The restoration of the republic appears as the only exit for the Spanish labyrinth that can be considered as a solution—if the political groups of the old republican and workers' organizations do not persist in following the methods

that gave such bad results in the past; if the republic tries to unite, instead of splitting, the Spanish people; if a constructive feeling is reached instead of a spirit of revenge; if force is excluded as an instrument of political action; if it restored in short a juridical order.

The characteristics of the present system, the totalitarian dictatorship of fascist inspiration, are the most opposed imaginable to the democratic conception of the power of the state. A political opportunism of basely Machiavellian pretensions makes the usurper of Spanish sovereignty cooperate with the democracies, namely, America and Great Britain, in external affairs, while deciding to strengthen the monopoly of the falangists in the internal affairs of the country. In this way it is trying to save itself from the shipwreck into which defeat has thrown Italian Fascism and German Nazism, as well as the regime of Vichy (so ideologically similar to that of Franco). But, the falangist dictatorship was from its birth—and even since its conception—joined indissolubly to the fascist totalitarian constellation, and biologically must disappear with it. Spain's problem is now one of readjustment to a totally different world and, since geographically and historically she is located in the orbit of the democracies, it is a problem of re-adaptation to a system of ideas and political customs from which she had been separated temporarily. And before everything else, it calls for the liquidation of the Civil War; the consequences of a struggle of this kind are graver for the existence of the community than those of an international war, because the old adversaries have to live together on the same soil. When, as in this case, the victor has forgotten all generous principles, the adversaries continue being such and the internal logic of the conflict determines that, once established in terms of a struggle to a finish, the solution will be impossible while no change essentially takes place in the mentality that led to the catastrophe. Because of that there will be no peace in Spain until the spirit of antagonism peculiar to the Spaniards eventually finds its normal level in a democracy capable of canalizing the natural op-

position between the different conceptions of society and of restoring a minimum of civil tolerance without which divergency results in tragedy.

That definition of the essence of politics, which the Nazi jurist Karl Schmidt gave as the differentiation between friend and enemy, has been followed too much by Spaniards not only during the Civil War, but also before and after. To be an anvil or to be a hammer appeared the aspiration of many; and even though when given the choice they preferred the last, the inexorable character of an aggressive position led them successively to one or another extreme. Many men of action passed from the government to prison and vice versa; and in this way politics was imbued with a spirit of resentment or of domination. A complex of oppression and persecutory mania were very frequently the determining motives of political groups. Fear made the war break out and because of fear there is no civil accord.

Does this mean that the situation is unsolvable? By no means. But a great enterprise of psychological disintoxication must be undertaken by the men of good will who may sincerely try to overcome the basic enmity that has divided Spanish society in two. That enterprise will have to be the starting point of the re-education of the people in the ways of democracy, for democracy, and to guarantee democracy. Myths are now rather worn from constant use. Sincere democrats, men of true liberal spirit, were very scarce among rulers and were not successful in awakening enthusiasm for the supreme values of political liberty. The negative programs of simple opposition were those that led the masses to crime and heroism. Violence had gained possession of the souls even before feeding upon the bodies; and all the relations of human conviviency were ruined by the fratricidal soul of a few, of which the majority was the innocent victim.

Desperately, Spain today looks for a way out of her own labyrinth. There is only one light capable of guiding her, that of freeing her

from the myth of systematic violence, there is only one instrument that is able to break the chains without substituting for them others of a different color but of similar slavery, that instrument is Justice. There is but one regime capable of giving again to Spain livable conditions, Democracy! A democracy sincerely felt and practised, that is decided by the will of the majority, that will which in the tumult of the armed struggle cannot make itself heard, and that has in mind and respects the rights of the minority. In the near future there will be presented a favorable opportunity for such an enterprise. The Spanish people themselves will have the task of directing it, and the other countries who proclaim themselves defenders of liberty must not hinder them. If the path of Spain should be turned anew, Europe will not entirely have come out of the darkness of night

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CZECHOSLOVAK TRADITION AND GERMAN IMPERIALISM

Jan Munzer

The question of the ideological orientation of Czechoslovakia today and tomorrow cannot be dealt with separately from the general orientation of Europe. Not only in the case of Czechoslovakia but all over the world this question poses itself with greater urgency than ever before in world history, and in a world situation in which moral and ideological values cannot be separated from the political and economic values advocated by different political movements. Not only liquidation of war among different states is at stake. The real issue is the establishment of a new epoch of world organization for a long time to come, of an organization which should be de-

voted to definite beliefs and goals. In the first instance, the goal of this war is and will be the defeat of German-Japanese aggression. In a wider and deeper sense, this war will reach a definite conclusion only after and if it will lead toward the beginning of a new world organization, viz., an organization that would render impossible any such aggression and any periodical outbursts of imperialism.

The crisis into which the Czechoslovak nation and especially its intelligentsia was thrown, not only as late as 1938 (Munich) but already at about 1933 when the wavering attitude of the world toward German imperialism began to be apparent, was, consequently, just a part of the world crisis. It must be judged from this viewpoint. It goes without saying, however, that this Czechoslovak crisis had its own specific features, conditioned by the general situation of Czechoslovakia, her national tradition, and her main ideological schools.

As far as the general situation is concerned, it seems not unimportant to stress that Czechoslovakia, of all the countries occupied by the Germans, has the most unfavorable geographic position. She is surrounded by Germany from three sides (north, west, and south) and has no access to any sea. The fact itself that Czechoslovakia, in spite of this, energetically refused to collaborate with Hitler's Germany from the very beginning points to the existence of an ideological orientation which was much too strong and definite to be influenced by considerations of opportunism. These opportunist considerations were not entirely nonexistent even in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, they were noisily advocated by some small but powerful groups. But just the fact that this propaganda achieved nothing shows that the Czechoslovak nation as a whole was ideologically firmly welded.

One of the reasons for this ideological solidarity was the belief that the outside world was and would stay united in the fight against pure power, the belief in the reasonableness and resolution of the

civilized world. Czechoslovakia believed that this civilized world would not permit Germany to repeat her criminal attempt of 1914. The attitude since 1933 of the progressive world toward Germany became, however, a source of steady irritation for Czechoslovakia, with its climax in Munich which led to such a crisis there as has hardly been experienced by any other nation in modern times. Just because the prevalence of reason, decency, morality, and justice was considered an axiom, the repudiation of all these at Munich led to a deeper crisis in Czechoslovakia than elsewhere. Those nations which were intentionally or unintentionally educated toward a moral and political skepticism, nihilism, and relativism under the screen of practical opportunism were affected to a much smaller degree.

This crisis was documented by the writings of many Czechoslovak writers, scientists, etc., and was outwardly manifested by the sudden death of Karel Čapek, a typical representative of modern Czechoslovak intelligentsia. His death was justly explained as a consequence of the fact that he "lost his world." The conception on which the Czechoslovak state was founded politically and on which all Czechoslovak realities in the realm of culture, morality, and economy were built was suddenly destroyed and the axiom of yesterday had no validity at all today.

Despair was the natural reaction of a nation which found itself abandoned and left to the mercy of an immeasurably stronger enemy. More typical though was the fact that, in the very first days after Munich, leading Czechoslovak intellectuals held to the thesis that this situation was only temporary, although it might last for some time, but they openly and expressly refused any one-sided orientation toward Germany. And when George Duhamel, several days after Munich, wrote that now that the Maginot line had been lost to Central Europe and care must be taken to preserve the Descartes line, in this region, his declaration found enthusiastic re-

sponse in Czechoslovakia. The majority of the population believed that Munich had been a "de facto" solution, certain that it would not prevail in the long run.

This belief was founded on the national Czechoslovak tradition which dates back to the fourteenth century. And since the nineties, it had been deepened and actualized by Thomas Masaryk whose influence on the Czechoslovak people is probably without analogy in other nations of the modern world, and who, through his life work, changed this historical tradition into a political reality. This tradition had its roots in the writings of Jan Hus, Petr Chelčický, Jan Amos Komenský, and continues in the works of the Slovak Jan Kollár, of the "Awakeners" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reaching its culmination in the teachings of Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Beneš. All these leaders followed supranational, universal, humanitarian goals. Jan Hus not only fought the Germans and established modern Czechoslovak orthography but also advocated the reform of the church in the interests of mankind. Komenský (Comenius) not only formulated axioms to which the nation always (even today) recurs in times of emergency but he worked for the establishment of a universal academy which would support the idea of eternal peace and international cooperation. Thomas Masaryk not only revitalized the Czechoslovak state but also in the spirit of his "Ideals of Humanity" fought with Eduard Beneš for the idea of collective security. Many more names could be added, especially that of the Hussite King George of Poděbrady who as early as 1465 advocated the establishment of a League of Nations.

The tradition symbolized by these names was so strongly and firmly rooted in the nation that it survived the three centuries (from the seventeenth to the twentieth) when its cultural and political life all but vanished within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Just as the Czech King, Charles IV, in the fourteenth century leaned toward the culture of the West, the Czechoslovak "Awakening" also deliberately orientated itself to the West, fighting

the strong influence of German Romanticism. The first modern Czech journalist, Karel Havlíček, acquainted his readers first with the Anglo-Saxon world, following the work of one of the outstanding "Awakeners," Josef Jungmann, the author of the first Czech dictionary. Jungmann, dissatisfied with only national activities, translated Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Czech. The work of the "Awakeners" finished, another period of high significance dawned, that of "opening the windows toward Europe" which meant, first of all, translations of Anglo-Saxon and Roman literature. Today, there is no important literary work of western literature that has not (and even repeatedly) been translated into Czech or Slovak. All these activities proved, first of all, the deep affinity to western culture but, second, they also proved the determination of Czechoslovak cultural leaders to defend the cultural life of their nation against the overwhelming German influence lavishly supported by Vienna and Berlin. It goes without saying that later on much attention was given to Russian culture, mainly literature.

A very strong influence of German thought on Czechoslovak cultural development was due to geographical and political reasons quite unavoidable, but the consistent struggle to reduce this influence and to supplant it by the influence of western culture shows the determination with which the nation, subjugated politically by the Germans and Magyars, tried to prevent political enslavement being climaxed by cultural bondage. This cultural struggle bore, however, no marks of vulgar chauvinism. As has been stated before, a strong German influence did exist, not only due to Kant or Goethe but also to minor stars on the heaven of classical Germany which were known and ably translated. This influence, however, existed in a steady parallel with western culture and, while German culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was respected, western culture was truly admired and loved. This is very understandable in the case of thinkers and writers like Fichte or Kleist and historians like Treitschke and Mommsen.

The average Czechoslovak intellectual always looked with suspicion at all types of German mysticism with its search of the "Absolute" and its identification once with God, once with a transcendental Thing-in-itself, once with the State. Czechoslovak rationalism was always aroused by German mysticism and in this it found support in the thought of the western world, the influence of which was consistently and perhaps just for this reason (among others) supported by all spiritual leaders of the nation for many centuries. French and Anglo-Saxon philosophy were in much greater harmony with the sober Czechoslovak mind than, for example, German idealism which, it is true, constructed monumental systems but left them hanging in the air while western European thought consistently kept in touch with experience and reality. For this reason, there really was a Descartes line in Czechoslovakia, the line of clear thought, but never was there a Kant line. For this reason, also, Masaryk speaks of Kant with respect but always critically and seldom or perhaps never with admiration. His apriorism seemed mythical to him and this judgment is typical of the sober average Czechoslovak who looks rather for truth and knowledge than for "monumental" systems.

Under these circumstances, it is quite natural that the ideological and political struggle against German imperialism was initiated in Czechoslovakia—under the slogan of a fight against irrationalism. If, to the sober Czechoslovak mind, even Kant seemed mythical, this designation applied the more to Hitler's ideologist Rosenberg with his "Myth of the 20th Century." The neo-German myth of "Blut und Boden" of the "Nordic Race," etc., conflicted not only in its political implications but, first, in its ideological conception to all general views common in Czechoslovakia. To the Czechoslovak mind this ideology (which is not an ideology at all but rather a mixture of very flexible slogans) seemed not only dangerous but chiefly strange and even ridiculous.

There is no doubt that this rational attitude which survived so

many centuries will also survive this period of German occupation. There is even less doubt of the fact that just this attitude was and is the strongest inspiration of the nation in its fight against the Germans. Although Czechoslovakia lost many of her spiritual leaders in this fight, there will be no change in this attitude because its roots were not only in the intelligentsia but in the whole of the national body, in the common man who inherited these truths even if he was unable to express them in literary form. And concerning those lost spiritual leaders, the nation knows that they were warriors in the battle between irate irrationalism and cultural, humanistic rationalism.

Another question which can be posed is whether the civilized world which failed at Munich will be sensible and courageous enough to fortify, after the defeat of the Germans, the positions which it gave up at Munich and whether it will find a reasonable solution for universal cooperation, a cooperation including the Soviet Union. On this, however, rests not only the fate of individual European countries, but of the whole of modern civilization

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IDEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS IN ITALY

Luigi Sturzo

Professor H Kantorowicz, before going as an exile to England, taught for three years, in the late twenties and early thirties, in the faculty of law at the University of Florence. He told me that he never met an openly fascist student, while many were either neutral or skeptical or against the fascist regime. This testimonial of an intelligent and cultured observer confirmed my own personal information. I do not mean to say that a good many young people, belonging to the middle classes, had not felt attracted toward fas-

cism during their elementary- and high-school education, and had not even participated with enthusiasm in the activities of the fascist youth organizations. Some of them were also members of the party. This is not to exclude, furthermore, that a good many of them were convinced fascists in the nationalistic or imperialistic meaning of the word. But it was a well-known fact that, as these youths progressed in their studies, so their early enthusiasm and faith concerning fascism decreased. In this stage, they would go over to a period of silent self-criticism, which would bring them to skepticism, owing to their intellectual immaturity, or to a negative or incoherent reaction, even verging on anarchism. On the other hand, given the totalitarian rule, any reaction against fascism would lead to an escape from politics in favor of a superior idealism. Such idealism found nourishment in Croce's idealistic philosophy or in the Thomistic speculations of catholic groups.

Only a minority of students and intellectuals entered an active policy of resistance to fascism, following the traditional lines of political parties or other social-political groups. The Italian underground is twenty years old, having started in January 1925 when the full-fledged totalitarian dictatorship was born. After the last opposition put up by the members of the Chamber of Deputies following the murder of Matteotti (the so-called Aventino), the underground movement was started, in a fitful and uncoordinated way at the beginning and without any common purpose. Needless to say, the younger generation was always a very important element in this picture. The last phase of the Italian underground started at the beginning of 1942, when a number of parties joined hands, the same which later formed the Committees of National Liberation: the Communist, the Socialist, the Christian-Democratic, the Action, the Liberal, and the Democracy of Labor parties. These various parties appealed to political ideologies which are bound with the philosophical and social traditions going back to the period of the Italian Risorgimento.

Those who object to the multiparty traditions of Europeans fail to take into account the fact that in Italy, in France, and in Germany parties are more than mouthpieces of class or economic interests whose acceptance is sought by the State, but have ideological and extrapolitical principles and finality. In the beginning, Europe knew the two-party system, both parties stemming from the bourgeoisie: the Conservative right and the Liberal left. But at once new factors split the bourgeoisie in monarchical and antimonarchical groups, clerical and anticlerical, democratic and antidemocratic. Soon afterwards the working masses, having or not having obtained universal suffrage, freed themselves from the political tutelage of the capitalistic bourgeoisie and evolved political movements of their own, as Socialists, Christian-Democrats, or Communists, often with a fluctuating party organization and several ramifications.

In Italy the principal tradition of the bourgeoisie is a liberal, monarchical, and lay one: lay in the sense of being opposed to the temporal power of the Popes and to the political influence of the Church. There is also a more aggressive laicism, of anti-Catholic and Masonic derivation, which is to be found in some advanced groups. The Mazzinian tradition is kept alive by the Republicans who have, however, dropped the first part of the Mazzinian slogan "God and People." The democracy of Italian liberals is conceived as the natural development of liberalism, following the method of freedom and of parliamentary procedure, in so far as realizing popular will and bringing about gradual reforms. The theoretical premises of Italian liberalism in a century have shifted from rationalism to positivism, of which Mosca was an able political interpreter, and to Hegelian idealism to be found in the two great antagonists, Croce and Gentile, and the most authoritative historian, Professor Guido De Ruggiero. The common basis of these philosophical currents has been an absolute naturalism, and even though a good many liberals were, in their own ways, religious and catholic, in their conviction if not in practice. Their intellectual molding was founded upon the above men-

tioned philosophical currents which, often, in teaching and in politics, were merged in a critical eclecticism or degenerated in a decadent agnosticism.

The radicals and the Democrats, at bottom antiliberal, had belonged in the past to the positivistic school: their philosopher was Ardigó, their sociologist Pareto, their criminologist Lombroso, and their pedagogist Credaro. With regard to the Socialists, their inspirers were first Marx and later Sorel, while the Communists, last to arrive upon the political scene, used Marx through Lenin. In essence, the theoretical basis of both movements (I do not say parties) is the materialistic conception of history and the fatality of the class struggle which is to lead in the end to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Christian-Democrats have as their intellectual forebears two great Frenchmen of the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lacordaire and Ozanam, and a Sicilian, Gioacchino Ventura. But the movement developed fully only at the end of the century, with Leo XIII, and its moral leader in Italy was the economist and sociologist Giuseppe Toniolo. Christian-Democracy has its own political conception which is not to be confused with catholicism, which is a religion, nor does it limit itself to a mere defense of religious values. Its philosophical conception stresses the values of human personality, the organicism of society, both national and international, the equality of political and juridical rights without discrimination of race, faith, or social class, and the human and Christian solidarity among men as individuals or organized in groups. The Christian point of view is brought to bear as meeting the need of a morality in politics which historically and philosophically cannot but be a Christian one for peoples of Christian civilization.

These currents have influenced the formation of political parties. The historical and ideological tie with prefascist parties has not been broken. Rather, each of today's parties goes back to the policies, the outlook, and the men of the past, even though at present not all of

this past is being accepted, as in the case of the Liberals. From this point of view fascism is a closed incident. Unhappily, all the effects of the fascist adventure will not be canceled, even after a long time and even after a long and painful fight against its poison.

For this reason, all the orientations of the past are not satisfactory and we must seek new ones toward the attainment of which to guide our young people. Nationalism, as a generic sentiment of love for an oppressed, humiliated, and ruined fatherland, a fatherland which must be completely rebuilt, cannot be suppressed or undervalued. Nationalism in this sense was reborn the same day on which Italy surrendered unconditionally and signed the secret armistice. The colonial question has a bearing on this problem, even though prefascist Italian colonies were of little consequence. But the loss of the colonies imposed from the outside will be the source of popular resentment. An even greater source of nationalistic resentment would be the threatened loss of Trieste and other Italian parts of Istria. Undoubtedly the Italian people are prepared to face the hardest fate, but there is no denying that the educational development of the new generation will be greatly influenced by the kind of treatment Italy is going to receive at the hands of those countries who asked that Italy's doors be opened because they were coming as liberators and not as conquerors.

In essence, one of the necessary elements for the spiritual revival of civilized peoples is the reciprocity of ideals, the solidarity of interests, the complete moral pacification. If this is true in the case of France, Belgium, Holland, and other allied countries, the more true is this today in the case of Italy and, tomorrow, in the case of Germany.

The writer has been and is contrary to nationalism, conceived as an egoistic theory which places one's own nation above the others, which thinks of my country right or wrong, which believes the nation to be superior to individuals and groups, the new idol to which everything has to be sacrificed. But I would like to note that

nationalism as well as patriotism, in their human significance, are to be found at the basis of the defense of the rights of every civilized country. For this reason their educational and ideological value contained within the framework of the moral law and of international solidarity cannot be minimized, especially in the countries which are coming out of the present war destroyed and impaired.

The feeling is widely shared that the ideologies and the philosophies to which man can appeal and among which every people is divided in a manifold variety of parties and movements are many. But in reality we find only two philosophies facing each other: the monistic and the dualistic; and only two pedagogical methods: the positivistic and the spiritual; two political systems: the absolutistic or totalitarian and the democratic; two methods: that of freedom and that of authoritarianism. All combinations—as between these poles—are the historical facts with which philosophy, pedagogy, politics, and sociology clothe themselves, as men concretize their ideas in the contrast of ideology and interests. The essence never changes.

Today, after such a destructive war, all peoples, in their striving toward a new life, cannot renounce some ideology upon which to base their sad reality. It is idle to say "try to keep alive," "there is time to think later." Or to say "let the generals, the allies, the improvised leaders take charge." Every man wants to reason about the origins of his misery and wants to look ahead on the path he has to follow, feeling that an impulse moves him in his struggle for existence. He will thus repeat the forms of the past, giving them new names and colors, or he will imagine to have found new forms of social living, hoping to develop new political realities that will correct a past doomed to disappear.

Today, the strongest ideological appeal in Europe comes from communism, not because Europeans believe in a communistic paradise but as a reaction against that kind of capitalism which is believed to be at the root of the present disaster, and out of sympathy

with Russia whose military valor and whose deeds give a romantic tinge to that most prosaic of all social systems. Unhappily, communism is monistic and tries to suppress all natural dualities: that of the individual and society; that of freedom and authority, that of labor and capital; that of spirit and matter, that of religion, or church, and state. Monism is not an exclusive characteristic of communism but it belongs also to that type of capitalism which is to be taken as a degeneration of the use of capital based upon the prevalence of the material interests of one class, which through the exploitation of the democratic forms of society attains an almost complete monopoly of economic and political power. It is true that in a capitalistic regime there still exists a tolerable marginal freedom so that social dynamism can still develop. But, in reality, the above mentioned monopolistic tendencies may so succeed in narrowing that margin that social dynamism becomes inoperative.

All modern efforts aim at the conciliation between the efficiency of a monistic system (communism and capitalism) and the fundamental freedoms of the human personality (the Four Freedoms). Nazism and fascism claimed to be efficient systems based on that extreme monistic conception, totalitarianism. But efficiency without moral limitations and outside of the framework of human freedom and solidarity will only lead to aggression, dictatorship, and war.

The peculiarity of the present ideological positions is that, while all modern philosophies stress everywhere monistic conceptions as against dualistic ones, in the social reality monism reveals itself as antihuman and tends to give all power to those who, be they fascists or nazis, communists, or capitalists, want to become masters of the state. On the other hand, there where the people are still free, where democracy functions, where the dualism of social forces expresses itself not only on the plane of interests but on those of morality, of justice, and of human solidarity, notwithstanding certain deficiencies from the point of view of material efficiency, we will enjoy the advantages of an individual and collective life worthy of free men.

We will be able to acquire all those human values which will lead to the ever greater realization of a true Christian civilization.

This is the path which today is marked not only for Italy and for Europe, but for all those countries which, emerging from this long period of darkness, must so revise their ideological and practical orientations as to be able to resume their normal course of life in an atmosphere of true peace and of reconquered freedom.

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PRESENT IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN POLAND

Manfred Kridl

The soul of all European nations tortured by the Germans during such a terribly long time is a mystery for the outside world. Nobody living under more or less normal conditions can even imagine the state of mind of peoples reduced by the foe to the life of persecuted and tormented animals, and yet trying to salvage their human dignity, their spiritual force, their will to resistance, and their faith in a better future. Under such conditions deep psychological and social changes are inevitable. What we can know about them is only a fraction of this deep internal process which has not as yet developed itself fully; its further evolution cannot be foreseen and may be of great surprise to those who would organize a postwar world along old-fashioned lines not taking into consideration the fundamentally different human material with which they are concerned.

If that is true of all German-occupied nations, it is all the more true of Poland which holds a special place, a mournfully honorable place, in suffering, devastation, number of victims, and also in the disregard shown by her principal allies. The state of the Polish mind is perhaps clearer to us, however, than that of other Central and East European peoples because of the extent to which underground

activities flourished there. The Polish underground was one of the most fully developed and best organized on the Continent, the underground press one of the most numerous and rich, the organization of the "secret state" in Poland one of the most efficient¹

This, and especially the press consecrated to political, social, cultural, and literary problems, enables us to take a deeper and wider look at the ideological trends of contemporary Poland as reflected in the activity and publications of representatives of the majority of the Polish people; that is, peasants, workers, and working intelligentsia

The realization of the horrible disaster which befell Poland in September 1939 led quickly to reflections regarding its cause. As early as November 1939 we find in the underground papers long statements explaining the problems in a sincere and sober manner. They contain bold criticism of the policy of the Western states, as well as of that of the Polish government. In spite of an understandable bitterness over the abandoning of Poland by her allies, they do not fail to admit that England and France were not prepared to help. Nor was Poland herself prepared to meet the German blow. This sobriety of view attained so quickly amidst the ruins of the country and the terrible persecutions is a valuable sign of maturity. With this came another conviction: there is no return to the past for either Europe or Poland, if the world and Poland in it are to exist. A really new world must emerge from this global catastrophe based on new social and international foundations. The Polish question is, therefore, seen from a broad international point of view, and in connection with the fundamental rebuilding of Europe and the world. In this way Polish contemporary political thought is renewing the best traditions of the century-long Polish fight for liberty and independence carried on under the slogan, "For your freedom and ours."

¹ I am writing in the past tense, because at present, after the "liberation" of Poland by Soviet troops, the whole movement, the pride of Poland, has almost ceased to exist, destroyed by Soviet agents of Polish origin who call themselves the "Provisional Government"

Such underground publications as *Manifesto of Freedom* (November 1939), *Tribune of the Peoples* (September 1940), *After the September Tragedy* (July 1940), and others state this attitude in a clear and distinct manner.²

In defining the ways of attaining this goal, Polish thought starts from the old and venerable concept of democracy. Notwithstanding all the errors and failures which democracy had undergone since the ancient Republic of Athens, in spite of the fact that it had been so far unable to reach a satisfactory solution of fundamental social problems, there is among the leaders and masses of Poland an unshakable belief that democracy—but only, of course, a regenerated democracy in the pure and noble form conceived by the most prominent thinkers and most devoted fighters of the nineteenth century—is the sole system capable of sustaining European civilization. This implies a flat repudiation of any totalitarianism under whatever form it is disguised. Not only are nazism and fascism contrary to Polish tradition and character (the best proof is the strong opposition against the semidictatorial rule imposed on Poland since 1926), but also the communist kind of totalitarianism.

Democracy is impossible without liberty and liberty is an illusion without social justice and the highest possible degree of equality. The *Program for People's Poland* published by the representatives of the working masses in 1941 proposes such vast social and economic reforms as: a just redistribution of national income, the nationalization of key industries, the expropriation of great landed estates, the expansion of social security, development of the cooperative system, and the like, based on the principle: "Labor as the only title to a share in national income."³

Regarding international relations, the Polish underground stands firmly on the platform of federation. "The Polish Republic," states

² See Kridl, Malinowski, Wittlin, eds., *For Your Freedom and Ours* (New York: F. Ungar, 1943).

³ See *Program for People's Poland* (New York: Polish Labor Group, 1943).

the Program, "will be a member of the Federation of Free European Peoples. In that Federation the Republic will strive to promote a maximum of cohesion and a Federal authority sufficiently powerful to safeguard the Federated Peoples from external aggression, and to suppress all attempts to create internal dissension through excessive nationalism." The same federative principle will be applied to all nationalities living in future Poland

The Polish leaders realize fully that democracy is not only a system of institutions but also a moral attitude toward the goals of life. They believe that from the ruins and ashes of the war there will rise the phoenix of a new man, a new European, and a new Pole. The Germans have already contributed in a great degree to the social equalization of the Polish society. Now there is only one class in the country—independent of former wealth and position—that of paupers without means or income. The people certainly feel entirely equal in misery, and it is a cruel irony, if not a conscious insult, to speak today of Polish "landlords" and "aristocrats." This material equalization, as well as common suffering and struggle, may promote a moral one; that is, a drawing together of Poles of various classes and of these and the national minorities. Thus a foundation will be laid for a deeper internal evolution toward a new psychic type and a new culture uniting permanent values of the past with fresh powers emanating from the working classes of the people. A larger democratization of Polish culture can, therefore, be expected than it has been possible, for historical reasons, to attain so far.

This evolution will be, of course, closely connected with and dependent upon a reformed educational policy. In regard to this, the new Poland will be able to continue the work inaugurated before the war by the mighty and truly progressive Polish Teacher's Association and partly materialized in the educational reform of 1932-1933. Its general idea was the *école active* and *école unique* system. This program could not be, at that time, fully realized for a number of reasons. But now, under German occupation, the same Teacher's

Association, working underground, has prepared a detailed plan of educational reconstruction going farther in elaboration of the former idea. Briefly, it establishes (1) a compulsory elementary-school system for all children between the ages of 6 and 14; (2) an equally compulsory system of secondary schools from ages 14 to 18 divided into sections of science, humanities, pedagogy, technic, and farm education; (3) college and university training for those who graduate from the secondary schools; (4) scientific institutions for special research. The far-reaching program urges the establishment of peoples' universities for the peasantry, a wide system of scholarship, a high standard in teacher-training institutions, possibilities for study in foreign countries, the independence of teachers from the political administration, freedom in their schoolwork and in selecting their own methods, and so on. Moreover, "the national educational task should be the responsibility of the ministry of education and culture" as "the supreme educational and cultural authority." "A national board of education and culture should be attached to the ministry in the capacity of a permanent advisory body with the right of initiative. The board should be composed of outstanding representatives of workers in the field of science and art, of teachers' unions, of cultural and educational organizations, of the local government and of professional bodies."⁴

Generally the program is permeated by a high social and democratic spirit in uniting the educational system with social life and social reforms. Professor Reinhold Schairer, an authority on educational problems, states in his Annotations to this publication that it is a truly Polish plan, a continuation of the Polish educational renaissance, started at the end of the eighteenth century by the National Education Commission "which has raised the standard of tolerance, liberalism, and effectiveness to which most other democratic nations have to look up even today." Moreover Dr. Schairer considers the

⁴ For details, see *The Proposed Educational Reconstruction in People's Poland* (New York: The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., 1944).

Polish plan a realistic one, containing a list of urgent problems of a postwar education and indication of the new era in education

One must realize, however, that the carrying out of these plans will take a long time in view of the conditions under which the Polish children and youth lived for long years. Only a part of them had the benefit of studying in underground schools, and even there the study could not be normal. A considerable part of them also participated in the underground work, thus preserving their moral health. But the rest were exposed to the unfavorable influence of a life of permanent fear and insecurity, of finding out means to deceive the Germans, and to acquire food. That is indeed not an atmosphere in which normal youth grows up

But the main obstacle and danger lies elsewhere. For the realization of all these beautiful plans and programs for Poland's polity and policy, her cultural and educational work depends first of all upon whether the Polish state will enjoy a real liberty and independence. If it becomes a Russian "protectorate" and is governed by Soviet officials bearing Polish names, the whole vision of a new Poland will be ruthlessly destroyed. The decisions of the new Alliance at the Crimean Conference point rather to the latter possibility. It would mean the abandonment by the Western democracies of all truly democratic forces in Poland—one of the numerous paradoxes of this war—and the strengthening of nationalistic and reactionary elements which exist in Poland, as well as in all other countries. The latter would have an easier task in exciting the bitterness and disappointment of the Polish people and in demonstrating to them that any collaboration with the so-called democracies—even backed up by efficient military help and millions of victims, as in the Polish case—is fruitless and leads to national defeat

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A CRUCIAL COUNTRY—HUNGARY

Emil Lengyel

Hungary occupies the very center of the broad belt of nationalities that extends from the Baltic to the Adriatic. While that belt is inhabited by a medley of Slavs, Germans, and Latins, the Hungarians are Finnish-Ugrians, related to the Finns and several tribes in Russia—hence they are an alien body.

Just because Hungary is a wedge in an uncongenial world, her people grew certain pressure-resisting traits, which have become almost a nationalistic obsession. While it is natural that human groups should regard themselves superior to all other groups, it is not quite usual that a small nation like Hungary should sing: "If the earth is the hat of God, Hungary is the bouquet on the hat."

The Hungarian came from the East, settled on the outskirts of Central Europe, and promptly established contact with the West. This he did because the craggy Carpathian range limited his horizon in the East, while the broad stream of the Danube opened the West to him. A thousand years ago he received his religion from Rome and some centuries later he received a challenge from the Geneva of Calvin. The Counter Reformation—also from the West—contested the Protestant influence. But even today the great plains city of Debrecen is known as the "Calvinist Rome." About one third of the Hungarians are Protestants, while the Catholics form some 60 per cent of the population.

In modern times the influence of the West was expressed in several ways. The focal points of that influence were Vienna and Paris. In recent times Vienna was the moon which reflected the rays of the German sun. After the Reich became united, Austria-Hungary fell under its sway and Hungary followed suit.

The influence of Germany was felt in the most important fields. The German military influence reached Hungary via Austria. It was the influence of a strictly disciplined army in which obedience ous-

ted the inclination to think. The army was a machine and the people in it tiny cogs. The very language of the Hungarian army—with the exception of the Honvéds—was German. The strident tone of the Prussianized sergeant was echoed by the barracks walls.

The Hungarian system of education was also a replica of the German one. Was the world not convinced at one time that the Prussian schoolmaster was responsible for the habitual victories of the German armed forces against Austria and the French?

In the social field, that school cultivated unquestioning obedience to authority. In order not to be entrapped by temptation, attention was fastened on the past, while the present was all but ignored. The school was the ideological projection of the barracks. In all fields, memory was strengthened, often at the expense of original thinking.

The other focal point of Western influence was Paris. It was far less formal and not exercised by authority. Being Easterners by origin, and settling in Middle Europe, the Hungarian intellectuals fell under the charm of the West. Many of them were hypnotized by it. Modern Hungary's greatest poet, Andreas Ady, considered the banks of the Seine his spiritual home. Never was he to forget the magnetic power of "la ville lumière" in his Transylvanian hills.

An entire Hungarian school of playwrights was drawn into the magic circle of Gallic wit. The most famous of them, Ferenc Molnár, not merely transplanted it to the banks of the Danube but also deepened it.

The bold thinkers of the new age turned toward the West and gave expression to their cravings in numerous ways. The most representative of the pioneering magazines assumed the title *West* (*Nyugat*), and the most searchingly critical social-science periodical called itself *Twentieth Century* (*Huszadik Század*). The iconoclastic university young people formed "The Galilei Society" (G. Kör).

The various forms of art were influenced by the West. The best

"Viennese" music was composed by the Hungarian, Franz Lehár. The Hungarian folk song sloughed off the mournful-air of the Oriental song and was infused with the gay rhythm of the West. Hungarian architecture ignored the Byzantine influence of the East and sought to copy the monumental Gothic, as in the Hungarian parliament.

The Hungarian *Tonangeber* (keynoter), the blue-blooded aristocracy, aped the fox-hunting ways of old-fashioned English nobility. It would not have occurred to it to have a good time in the gay capital of adjacent Rumania or to take part in the fantastic winter carnivals of Russia's St. Petersburg. It was at home in the Scottish Highlands and in the Covent Garden of London.

For many centuries, Hungary's political orientation changed little. She was a satellite of the strongest near-by Western power, Austria, and later Hitler's Germany. She had to be such a satellite because Hungary was ruled by a small clique battenning on the backs of the miserable rate-payers, "misera plebs contribuens."

There were few other countries in which so few ruled over so many and in which so many had so little. Although feudalism was nominally abolished in 1848, informally it continued until our own days. In the very shadow of magnificent Budapest, as modern as the latest Parisian fad in style, there was feudal rural Hungary. On large entailed estates of the church and nabobs there lived millions of *nincstelenek* (people with nothing), bags of mere bones, scraping and bowing serfs. The few who had the right of vote were herded into polling booths where they "elected" their magnates' choices in open voting.

There were numerous excellent men in the Hungarian governments, it is true. They were the *Europaeer*—Europeans—who not merely aped but also wanted to imitate the West. The great revolutionary Lajos Kossuth once represented the spirit of a new age to the world. "The wise man of the fatherland," Ferenc Deák, also had an image of an enlightened age which he was bent on realizing

through a policy of compromises. The author and educator, Joseph Eotvos, was an inspired disciple of the West. Even among the run-of-the-mill politicians there were men of vision, such as Sándor Wekerle, who piloted through the law of civil marriage contract. But even these men of stature could do little to alter the feudal rule.

Democracy came to Hungary after the end of the First World War but it tarried little. Again the country relapsed into its autocratic ways. It is worthy of notice that even Germany was able to bear a timid experiment in democracy for a longer period.

The postwar era is associated with the name of Admiral Nicholas Horthy, who remained at the helm throughout these years. Hungary now turned away from the present even more than before. Just because in the past she had been ruled by kings, she called herself a kingdom—but had no king. The country was cut down to a mere skeleton, as her neighbors profited territorially at her expense. Yet the Hungarian school ignored the new map and outlined old Hungary's borders. The land held by the neighbors was "temporarily occupied."

The archaic land conditions, created under the feudal rule of the past, were changed all around Hungary. The large latifundia were broken up, and the little peasants received parcels of land. Hungary paid no more than lip service to land reform. It served again the magnates to get rid of their poorest land which the peasant was generously permitted to buy. The old stamp of feudalism still fitted postwar Hungary.

Then came the tornado in the form of the sweep of the Red Army across the land. The nazis elected to turn Budapest into another Stalingrad. In the wake of Hungary's defeat, a new government was set up under Soviet sponsorship. It requires no particular gift of prognostication to be able to foretell that the old feudal world went to its doom with the *dies irae*.

The feudal regime will, no doubt, make an attempt to come back. It cannot help making such an attempt. But no matter what happens

to that part of the world, it will not be able to re-assert itself. Such a system belongs to another planet in our days.

What will be Hungary's cultural orientation? It is bound to change basically. New Hungary must turn away from the pretenders of world rule in the West. If the magnates are out—and out they will be—they will no longer have to make common cause with Western despots in order to maintain themselves on the backs of the helpless masses.

The mission of new Hungary is in the East. She is more highly industrialized than her Balkan neighbors to the east and south. She can play a constructive role of leadership among them, instead of chasing the will-o'-the-wisp. The Hungarian has certain traits that fit him for his new role.

He is handy with tools and, unless the incentive is lacking, is industrious. He has a good mind and does not lack self-confidence. The Hungarian learns quickly. Exchange professors and students from the Allied countries could make a deep impression on the younger generation. They will be invested with the aura of the success of their cause and, of course, success is highly valued in the Danube valley, too.

Hungary has always been a far more important country than her size would indicate. At a strategic junction of continental highways, she formed a *place d'armes* which Western victors employed to deploy their forces in the East. This is what the Hapsburgs did in their attempt to set foot on the Balkans. This is what Hitler did in his attempt to secure the rule of the world. It was one of his first steps to obtain a foothold in Hungary. That done, he could penetrate into the Balkans. Once there, he could launch his attack upon the Soviets. Had it been successful, the world would no longer be free.

If Hungary is sealed up against such attacks of would-be world rulers, she can be turned into a useful member of European society. Magyarland must cease to be a cultural throwback into the dim past. Hungary has a Janus-face; she is a land of contrasts. While predomi-

nantly reactionary in the past, she had some liberal potentialities. The Allied powers must see to it that those tendencies are given a chance to grow and thrive. Having this key position safely in their hands, they will man that part of the ramparts of Europe which in the past served as the war-makers' point of attack. At this point they may be able to hold the Reich of the future at arm's length. It is to be hoped that the Allied leaders will be aware of Hungary's historical importance.

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BASQUE THOUGHT AT THE PRESENT MOMENT

José Antonio de Aguirre

Although the Basques are known to be one of the oldest peoples in existence, possessing an original language and a deep sense of independence, their juridical and social institutions are, on the other hand, completely unknown to many. Yet these institutions have represented the philosophical thought of the Basques in all periods of their history, the most interesting fact being that they have survived almost to our day because Basque thought has never changed.

When General Franco rebelled against the democratic institutions of Spain, he attacked with singular violence the peoples constituted in autonomy within the Republic, that is, the Basques and the Catalans. The resolute attitude of the Basques in their hostility toward the Spanish dictator (the Basques being one of the most religious countries in the world) attracted much attention in view of General Franco's stand as "defender of Christian civilization."

Something similar, in a political sense, occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century when the Liberals of the period came across the Basque case, unknown or forgotten till then. These intellectuals

found the Basque philosophy and authentic democratic regime very attractive. Surrounded by absolutist states, the Basques maintained in effect not only a progressive charter of individual liberties but also a political regime based on singular social equality.

Finally, attention was drawn to the manner in which the Basques combined their love for liberty with the religious tendency of their people. Jean Jacques Rousseau was so strongly attracted by this Basque peculiarity that he cherished the thought of living in the Basque country, as is shown in his *Confessions* when, referring to his friend the Basque Ignacio Manuel Altuna, he says, "I must, after a few years, go to Azcoitia to live with him in his country." Rousseau praises the tenacious civic and religious convictions of his friend, stating as an interesting contrast, "Aside from myself, I have never seen anyone so tolerant in my life." The Basque way soon became the fashion and, as is usual with fashions, soon was exaggerated. "The oldest known democracy" was praised to such an extent that inventions and fabulous exploits became a temptation of writers. There are authors of that period who, lost in the mystery of the origin of the Basque civilization which they wanted to explain somehow, stated nothing less than that the Basque language, Euzkera, was spoken in the Garden of Eden and was one of the few languages that survived the confusion of Babel.

Without having to recur to fables, there is one fact of permanent value that can satisfy the curiosity of those who today as well as in Rousseau's time, wish to understand the position of the Basques. This fact is that in the Basque country tradition is based as much on liberty in its individual human aspect as on its application to public institutions. This tradition has always been preserved even after the unity of the Basques was broken in the thirteenth century and the Basques were divided into various states, all of them sovereign.

On the 30th of July 1476, Ferdinand the Catholic appeared before the Parliament of Gernika and, in the presence of the people's representatives, gave his oath to respect the Basque liberties. And on this

occasion they told him "that according to the laws of custom and usage which had been the law of their land *as far back as the memory of man could reach* they asked him to take the oath to respect their Constitution." In 1706 the Cortes of Pamplona said to King Philip V of Spain, "The people had laws before they had Kings." With this they recalled that warning directed to the Kings of the Basque dynasty which was consecrated for their successors, the Kings of France or Spain, appearing in Chapter I, Section I, of the Fuero or Constitution of Navarre: "We, who each one of us are your equal, and all together are greater than you, proclaim you King so that you may guard our laws and see that they are carried out" This language could not be well received by absolutist sovereigns such as Philip V of Spain, but, because of the system of *equae principal* union under which the Basques lived until 1839, the King was absolute monarch in Spain, but for the Basques he was a constitutional monarch. This political freedom permitted the Basques to develop their own national character based on an unchanging philosophy

The Basque laws began by consecrating the fundamental rights of man. The Biscayans incorporated them into their Constitution in Law XXVI, Section XI, in 1526, thus giving written form to a time-honored tradition. The law prohibited all authorities of any kind "to arrest any person without a writ from a competent judge except in the case of *flagrante delicto*. If a person has already been thus apprehended and a competent judge orders his freedom, he must immediately be set at liberty no matter what the cause or debt for which he has been taken prisoner"

In Laws I and V, Section 7, the procedure to be followed is outlined. It states that no person may be persecuted or arrested for any crime whatsoever, no matter how grave, unless he has previously been handed a judicial notice and summons to appear for judgment within a period of thirty days beneath the Tree of Gernika, where moreover he is granted the privilege of choosing which public jail he prefers. This summons must be incorporated in an edict, to be

read publicly beneath the Tree of Gernika, every ten days, certifying that this requirement be carried out by a scrivener and also that an authentic copy of the edict be delivered to the person making the denunciation of the supposed criminal. If after this procedure has been carried out the accused still does not present himself, then and only then is he declared to be in rebellion, and as the perpetrator of a criminal act may be detained or arrested by any citizen.

Completing these injunctions, Law II forbids the "torture or threat of torture, either direct or indirect, of any Biscayan whether he be in Biscay or any other part of the world." The last words indicate by their very excess how horrible the Basque conscience considered these inhuman measures which were accepted by the majority of the civilized societies of that time.

We could continue to quote protective laws of a humane nature but we have selected only those which have some originality. We will quote, nevertheless, some of the precepts which prohibited under penalty the use of spiritual means in temporal matters, distinguishing the independence of civil from ecclesiastic affairs. "Bishops and Prelates (Law II, Section 32) are forbidden to interfere in disputes among Biscayan laymen which come under the jurisdiction of His Highness the Lord, even though the dispute be between a Prelate and a layman or between ecclesiastical members." This is a precept of the Constitutional Reform of 1526, a period of the Inquisition and of Absolutism in many countries of Europe, and especially in Spain, whose monarch was also that of the Basques, as we indicated previously.

The family and the house are the base of the Basque political structure. The law pays special attention to them. "For no crime or any other cause may the Biscayan be dragged from his home." The law has made the home inviolable. Basque legislation extended such powerful and effective protection to the family and the home, not only because it represented a spiritual tradition but also because it had an important political role to play. "One family (house), one

vote" was the traditional Basque way of expressing their democracy. The men and women that represented their homes met freely and voted as equals in the election of their municipal representatives, and these in turn elected the representatives who made up the Basque Parliaments, the supreme authority in the Basque country. It is like a tree with roots, a trunk, and branches, an organic whole, which with the life sap of the race produces the fruit of their laws.

The Parliaments of Biscay, Gipuzkoa, Alaba, and Laburdi had only one kind of representative, that of the people, while the ecclesiastics were specifically forbidden to be elected as Deputies. Perhaps this is the only case of its kind in the Europe of that time, accustomed to forming its Parliaments or Cortes with representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the populace.

With regard to democratic policy, the laws established a social democracy of equality of all its citizens, specifically prohibiting the use of titles of nobility, and with an economic system which, in the agricultural field especially, prevented the control by any one person or group of large territorial expanses. After having studied these laws, the Earl of Carnarvon wrote in 1836, "In short, the more carefully we examine the old Biscayan records, the more we shall be inclined to feel that the Basques have had no superiors in the race of civil and religious liberty." The Basques have been educated in this doctrine of respect of human dignity and of the real exercise of their democratic and social rights until 1839 when the Spanish monarchy, breaking the historic pact of Confederation, suppressed Basque sovereignty. But this action caused a vigorous reaction true to the secular tradition of liberty. After the Basque autonomy was partially restored in 1936 by the new Spanish Republican regime, the Basque country fell, in 1937, under the oppression of the dictatorial state of General Franco. There can be no greater contradiction than that between the Spanish totalitarian system and the desires of the Basque people. Therefore, they opposed the former with all their strength.

In dealing with the philosophical and political concepts of the Basques, we have preferred to recall the past. To call oneself liberal or democrat today is not difficult. More important is the feeling of the continuation of an uninterrupted tradition of humaneness and of practice of democracy. The future State of the Basques, once the Francoist oppression is ended, will be based on tradition since its basis need not be changed. In terms fitting the everyday circumstances, it will guarantee the rights of man, defend the family and its heritage based on minimum stable and nonconfiscatable property, encourage a sense of responsibility in economic matters and participation in the social benefits of all its workers, continue to proclaim democracy as the most perfect form of government, respect the religious belief of its people which will develop freely within the old standards of tolerance separated from civil matters, and finally try to coordinate its national liberty with that of the other countries, especially those existing in the Iberian Peninsula, in a federative organization which the Basques believe would be a stable solution.

These principles are stated in the present Basque laws. Some were applied by the Basque Government during its brief autonomous administration in 1936-1937 and others, which could not be applied because of the Spanish Civil War, await the restoration of liberty to be put into effect. Churchill said that only the peoples with a very sound tradition are destined to survive the great struggle humanity is undergoing. We believe that the Basque people are destined to be among them.

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SOME STATEMENTS IN REGARD TO GERMAN POLITICAL RE-EDUCATION

Friedrich W. Foerster

Military conditions of Germany's re-education. It is not astonishing that in dealing with the German postwar problem long-term occupation and re-education are always proposed together. Occupation is limited to a mere external control and compulsion, and nobody knows whether allied public opinion will support a prolonged staging of foreign military forces in Germany. Therefore, general attention is concentrated on the problem of how to complement the military method by the educational effort and how to adapt this effort to the mentality in question. In dealing with this difficulty we have first to realize that the direct educational action is not always the most effective. The most efficient education is not operated by so-called education, but by a clash with unyielding realities. If there will be installed in Germany an inflexible allied authority giving to every German the feeling that he has no longer any chance to impose his will upon the rest of the world, then the Germans are intelligent enough to create a new political ideology, better adapted to their central position in Europe and more in conformity with the spirit of their millenary history than the Bismarck ideology. (The German philosopher Lagarde called Bismarckism "the mortal disease of the German people.") To find that ideology Germans need only to go back to those thousand years of the Middle Ages when German culture and Germany's influence on the world was at its highest. Germany's history has two great phases, the constructive and the disruptive stages. The latter began with the Thirty Years' War and was a result of Germany's secession from the European spiritual community, and ended with the Prussianization of the German nation which was accomplished by conversion to Prussianism by the Austrian, Hitler. The constructive phase was the federa-

tive era inaugurated by the Pope who crowned Charlemagne and entrusted the German nation with the responsibility for the secular unity of Europe. At that time the German emperor was not a "pan-german" overlord, but the holder of an international office, the president of a league of nations, who had to coordinate the equal rights of federated nations. His authority was rather spiritual than juridical; he was the political expression of the Christian idea of justice and brotherhood which were recognized by the nations and considered as superior to mere nationality. This constructive role, which made Germany the bridge between the East and West, the North and the South, enlarged the German soul and gave to it a lasting impulse toward supranational universality, an impulse which even survived the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire, and inspired almost all the great political authors of the nineteenth century. They opposed in vain the national fury which possessed the German people and which was well exploited by the Prussian power in its efforts to use the German people for Prussian war aims.

In this sense every return to that great and essential German tradition would have at its disposal a very rich historical and philosophical literature. Such a reform would be a return of the German people to themselves and to the very spirit of their history. It would have to bring about a total revision of the interpretation of German history, this history having been misinterpreted and falsified by the literary mercenaries of Prussianism. Without a whole army of servile peons Prussianism would not have estranged the German people from their inherited cosmopolitan and federalistic tradition. All this has to be rectified, cleaned up, and re-interpreted. The de-Prussianization of Germany must be the true aim of Germany's political re-education. This is only possible by the most radical decentralization of the country, including its economic decentralization.

Of course this kind of political re-education appeals above all to the adult generations. German political rebirth must begin with

the older generation. The young generation is so terribly fanatical and shut off from foreign influence that one can only indirectly and gradually shake their beliefs in the Fuhrer's madness. In order to prepare the Germans for a new cultural exchange between and with the rest of the world and to discourage their megalomania and their belief in German self-sufficiency, the teachers of history have to dwell on the question: What does Germany owe to the Orient, to Rome, to the old Mediterranean civilization, to France, and to the Anglo-Saxon world?

The two essential tasks of political education. This question leads to the recognition of the two essential but very different tasks of education. One says with Pindar, the Greek poet: "Become yourself." This means living from our own roots, putting into full value our inherited gifts and capacities, studying our traditions, and honoring our past. The second task demands: Surpass yourself. Seek contact with that which is strange and opposite to yourself, enlarge yourself by throwing yourself into the world of others and by trying to understand their traditions, virtues, and achievements. Renan said: "When once France and Germany will have reconciled their differences, the two halves of the human soul will have found each other." This is very true. The Germans have the duty of men without the right of men; the modern French have the right of men without the duty of men. This is a parable. We all live today with only half of our soul, as if we breathed with only half of our lungs. But no people can solve its own problems without the complementary gifts and virtues of others. This is especially true for Germany which is a particularly emotional country and therefore falls victim to the worst kind of guidance. It is an absolutely dangerous error to say that you cannot implant in Germany some indispensable democratic ideals. They must learn political responsibility or they will die out. They will begin to learn it by the grave consequences of their indifference, their credulity, their blank check grant to a gang of ruthless bandits. The anti-Western and antidemocratic agitation

beginning in Germany under the guidance of Troeltsch and others, and boasting of a German culture, detached from elements of political responsibility is dangerous luxury. Thomas Mann preached that dangerous gospel in his book *Political Considerations of an Unpolitical*, but he retracted his error after having seen that culture without a political conscience leads to nothing but naked collective barbarism. It is true that Germany cannot be educated by American teachers, but it is also true that they need a baptism in Anglo-Saxon liberty and enlightened popular control, just as they needed humanistic education by Greek and Latin literature and by Judaic and Christian influences, which did more in developing the best kind of German genius than all recurrence to the gestures of Wotan and his swollen Walkyries. Nobody has stated that more clearly than Goethe.

Martin Luther and political ethics. The German contempt for political culture and responsibility is a fatuous inheritance from Luther. "Politics," he said, "is a secular affair." Surely as far as it has to do with secular details. But it is much more a spiritual affair because the state becomes a gang of robbers unless it recognizes its own spiritual foundations and implications. The present complete moral dissolution of the German state, this well-disciplined anarchy, is only the logical result of the manner in which in Germany the public affairs were cut off from the spiritual life of the nation. It is not typical that even a Christian like Niemoller, who so heroically defended his Christian patrimony, remained in politics very near to the nazis. The German theologian Althaus declared, "Politics is an expression of God's will in its own field and in contrast with the kingdom of God." This is typically German. A French writer called it "the treason of the spirituals." The spirituals abandoned politics to the devil and the Prussians. Then came the only logical second step: as patriots they joined the diabolical policy. It is as if Emerson would have joined the bandits in the Wild West and would have called this union "national solidarity."

Machiavellianism has not been invented in Germany, but influenced by Luther the Germans drew the most devastating consequences from a teaching which dispensed personal conscience of any control of the external world. This was reinforced by a growing materialism which believed that state affairs had to be entrusted to the underworld. Gladstone said "What is politically wrong can never be politically right." The Germans thought that "War that is morally right *must* be politically wrong." This is bound to end in bestiality. Very logically a German ex-theologian said in his book, "Post Christum, the German man has thrown off the illusions of 2,000 years and humbly accepted the law of the beast." And so they acted.

These statements show how great is the task of revising their political thought. We have to begin with shaking their belief in their whole so-called political biology which radically discarded the spiritual world—and its bloody vengeance wherever a blinded nation believed exclusively in the case of immediate and visible success. Therefore, the whole re-education of the German people has to begin with an interpretation of the actual gigantic judgment of the *Weltgericht* over Germany. "Never the Goddess forgets the murderer of nations," says the chorus in the "Oresty." But between this teaching and the German people stands the iron wall of millions of lies told during more than one hundred years. A whole literature about facts and responsibilities has to be created and distributed in order to disinfect them. Without such a penetrating cure no light will enter the German soul, no conversion and no new orientation will be possible.

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EDUCATIONAL FEDERATION IN SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

Reinhold Schairer

The three Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, will begin their postwar education with one great constructive force not existing among any other nations: an educational federation.

The educational federation among these three nations is indeed a unique feature. It has peacefully united these formerly aggressive and war-minded nations into a family of nations, yet it has avoided any form of compulsion or uniformity. It is no exaggeration to state that war between these nations from now on is impossible. Yet this Scandinavian federation is not based on any diplomatic acts or international treaties. Educational federation takes the place of peace treaties.

Sometimes foreign observers assume that the Scandinavian countries form a national unity with one language and one national character. The opposite is true. The temperaments and traditions of these three nations are very different. Their three languages have their different characteristics and entirely different literature. It is not uncommon to find Danes and Swedes making their conversation in English. The new Norwegian language, the "Landsmaal," has been created as a permanent protest against the Danish, imposed during the foreign domination of Norway by Denmark.

In 1905 Norway revolted against the union with Sweden and demanded complete independence. For months the armies were standing on both sides of the frontiers, waiting until the first shot would open a murderous war. Still today the citizens of both countries tell stories about how the teachers, students, and church people prevented this war by permanent negotiations. The educational federation won a splendid peace victory, better than diplomats ever did,

because this peace victory left no bitterness and resentment. The educational federation did even more; it created what we today fondly call "Scandinavia." If Europe could open in the eyes and minds of the world a similar federation and unity, the main peace problems of the world would be settled.

Scandinavia, or as the Scandinavians call it, "Norden," has been born entirely as an educational or even poetic concept. Said Gruntvig, one of the fathers of Scandinavia one hundred years ago, "The countries in the North have one mission, to be the younger sister of Athlone." What he intended to give to the Nordic people was a great and inspiring vision, a picture, to whose formation and realization every one could contribute, leaving a large section of its realization to his children and grandchildren. Once he stated, "Nothing great happens in the life of a nation, which is not announced before by poetry." Poetry and education are the forces that form the fate of nations, this was the origin of the Scandinavian educational federation.

In the same decades, south of Scandinavia, the German states formed a different pattern. This pattern, too, had its poetry: "Germany, Germany over all other nations." Or "The God who created iron, did not intend to create slaves, therefore he gave the sword in the hand of man." In songs, textbooks, sermons, and lectures resounded the barbarian concept of blood and iron, of the German warrior as superman, of the coming victory of the Germans, and their mission to rule the world. And a different pattern of federation was formed. The "Iron Chancellor," Bismarck, attacked and conquered and subjugated other nations including South Germany, and from Berlin the domination of education in all German states advanced more and more, until Hitler, at last, had the courage to do what so many Prussians had always dreamed of: to annihilate every form of educational independence in any German state and to make education of the eighty million Germans a matter strictly controlled, directed, and manipulated by Berlin.

The world paid a high price for the error to have tolerated, even applauded, this Bismarckian and Hitlerian pattern so fundamentally different from the Grundtvigian and Bjoernsonian and Soederblomian patterns, to mention only three names of many prophets of Scandinavia: a Danish educator, a Norwegian poet, and a Swedish church leader. How was the educational pattern of Scandinavia implemented in the educational structure? Not by governments, but by the educators and the students themselves.

Moved by the concept of Scandinavia, the Danish teachers proposed in 1863 regular conferences of the teachers of the Scandinavian countries. It took seven years before this first conference was held in 1870. These Nordic conferences have since become one of the real important and efficient instruments of educational federalism. These conferences are entirely different from any other international conferences. Several thousand teachers and students take part. The conferences are carefully prepared, and the discussion and resolutions are masterpieces of democratic procedure. The communications and publications following the conferences influence the schools in the farthest corner of those countries. The Nordic educational conferences have no weight except their moral influence, yet they have produced among many other results the only real effective system to take out of the textbooks errors, prejudices, and lies that poison youth in international relations, and the antiquated history teaching. They have produced mutual respect and friendship. They have advanced the modern achievement of education, as, for instance, equal chances in education for the children of all classes, advancement of manual training in all the schools, intensification of international studies, promotion of an enlightened attitude on social questions, and, last but not least, the recognition that no educational system is perfect if it does not offer a great variety of institutions of adult, labor, and farmer education.

But the conferences are only a beginning. They opened a large program of exchanges of pupils, students, teachers, and professors,

inter-Scandinavian vacation camps, and travel facilities connected with the schools and universities, special vacation courses for friends from the other Scandinavian countries, all of which have developed to a degree unknown among any other group of nations.

A permanent institution, the Committee *Norden* (the north), has been formed as a well-established agency of co-administration. Its task is to prepare and organize training courses for teachers in inter-Scandinavian affairs, to develop students and teachers for their responsibility for the large-scale and extremely useful inter-Scandinavian projects. Common magazines are published, such as *The Scandinavian Scientific Review*, founded in 1922 in Oslo.

The essential thing in all these efforts is that they are based entirely on the free and voluntary efforts of the teachers, pupils, and schools themselves. They are not imposed, or granted, or financed by any government agency. By this truly democratic effort of the schools themselves, this form of inter-Scandinavian cooperation and friendship has developed, has become a natural function of the schools themselves, enters therefore naturally in all subjects and activities, and forms effectively lifelong habits of the younger generation. In this way, the movement is not limited to the school. The workers and farmers, the poets and writers, industrialists and professionals, and last but not least the common people are more and more transformed into an attitude of inter-Scandinavian friendship and cooperation, which makes tensions and frictions obsolete and antiquated and international laws and treaties superfluous.

The inter-Scandinavian educational federation is a genuine picture of which Plato may have dreamed: the educator replaces the legislator. Statesmen and educators, shaping the future of a peaceful world, should carefully study and apply to other countries this unique case of federation by education, of which this report gives a general description only.

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EDUCATION AND THE NEW OUTLOOK

H. C. Dent

Just over a year ago I published a book, *Education in Transition*, in which I attempted to survey wartime developments in Britain's education. The following comment upon this book appeared recently in the *American Journal of Sociology*

In common with other Americans, this reviewer has been puzzled by stories from England that the war was paving the way for a social revolution in which the disadvantages and the inequalities suffered by the poor would be removed. Since there is no evidence that such a revolution is under way in the United States, we have thought that perhaps some well-meaning Englishmen were deluding themselves. But this book reveals the substance behind the stories and makes one believe that basic educational changes are more likely to come to England after the war than in America.

I quote the above only to endorse the fundamental point the reviewer makes. A social revolution *is* under way in Britain, and the basic educational changes now being made (in Scotland and North Ireland as well as in England and Wales) are understandable only in the light of this fact. They offer concrete evidence of its reality; they are among the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual transformation which is undoubtedly taking place.

There is plenty of other evidence; for example, the earnest attention being paid to the problems of full employment, social security, public health, housing, and, not least, the welfare of the peoples in the British colonies. All these are closely allied expressions of the revolutionary spirit, and not one of them can be genuinely assessed in isolation from the rest.

It is no more possible to say when this revolution began than when it will be completed. Looking back, one fancies that its first faint stirrings can be discerned at least a century ago. It may be (though I hope not) that another century will have to elapse before it is per-

fect. What can be said with certainty is that the experiences of the present war have immensely speeded up its development, so much so as to bring it to a point of grand climax.

This is clear beyond doubt in the field of education. Last year Britain's Parliament passed the Education Act, 1944—a revolutionary Act if ever there was one. This Act completely recasts the structure of the public system of education for England and Wales,¹ transforming it from an aggregation of separate and imperfectly coordinated systems into a single coherent and comprehensive system, flexibly organized in progressive stages, and intended to be adequate to meet the needs of all. It steps up the compulsory foundation from the elementary to the secondary level. It bridges the gap between the education of the young and the education of the adult. It recognizes that at all stages education must cover the whole life. And for the first time in Britain's history, it lays a statutory obligation upon the public authorities to secure that everywhere the quantity, variety, and quality of education at which it aims shall in fact be provided.

Yet in the realm of ideas this Act reflects nothing absolutely new. Educationists have clamored for years for every one of the reforms it embodies. What is important, and highly significant, is that at one blow all these reforms have been removed from the realm of aspiration to that of actuality. A transfer on such a scale has never happened before in Britain; and it has only happened now because the hard experiences of this war have driven home to Britain's people that education matters, that the nation cannot hope to survive in the future unless its men and women—all of them—are educated to the limit of their capacity and according to their infinitely varied aptitudes.

The war has revealed with a clarity that cannot be ignored both

¹ The Education Act, 1944, applies only to England and Wales. Acts of Parliament to be passed for Scotland and Northern Ireland this year will bring about fundamentally the same situation in these countries.

the inadequacy of the previous provision of public education and the terrible inequality of opportunity there was to partake of it beyond the lowest—the elementary—school level. So the keynotes of the new Act are adequacy of provision and equality of opportunity. This is best summarily illustrated by the charge laid upon the local education authorities (in section 7 of the Act) that they shall

. . . so far as their powers extend . . . contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education . . . shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area.

No more solemn or all-embracing charge has ever been laid upon the public authorities of Britain, or so far as I know of any other country. The fact that it was agreed to with acclamation by Parliament (which, whatever defects it may possess, does reflect with a high degree of accuracy the state of public opinion in Britain) is an index of the advance toward the democratic ideal which Britain's public opinion has made during the war. Comparable indices are the rapturous reception of the Beveridge reports on social security and full employment, the universal approval of the idea of a national health service (the disagreement about this is solely regarding its form), and the widespread concern about town and country planning, public-housing policy, slum clearance, sanitation, and so on.

To refer to these other aspects of social reform is not to digress. On the contrary, I shall fail completely of my purpose in this article if I do not make it crystal clear that the great educational reforms upon which Britain is embarking are in no sense whatever to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. They are an integral part of an all-inclusive social revolution which has long been slowly gathering strength and momentum and which has suddenly been brought to a head by nearly six years of total war that has laid bare in all its nakedness the fundamental ideological conflict between the concepts of democracy and totalitarianism.

The peoples^a of Britain have come down solidly on the side of democracy. This was only to be expected, indeed, it is almost inconceivable that such individualistic peoples could have come to any other decision. But they have also set themselves consciously to the task of translating the democratic ideal into living reality in every aspect of the national life. Hitherto, we in Britain have taken our democracy too much for granted. The war has shown us that it is seriously defective. We mean to put that right

Of course, it is not going to be easy Nor quick. In an old civilization traditions, conventions, customs, habits, and prejudices exercise the most powerful influences upon thought. You cannot expect anything like the speed of change which you would regard as normal in the United States, though when I recall the distance we have traveled in education in England during the past five and one half years I am tempted to think we might even catch up on you in this respect ere long!

To illustrate: in 1936, after prolonged and acrimonious debate, Parliament passed Education Acts for England and Wales, and Scotland, which raised the age of compulsory attendance at school to 15, but permitted exemption after 14 to all who could prove an offer of "beneficial employment." The Education Act, 1944, provides for successive raisings of the age to 15 and 16, with no question of exemption; and the only substantial anxiety in the public mind is lest the raising to 16 be too long delayed.^b

The 1936 Acts make no pretense of extending genuine secondary education; the 1944 Act makes it compulsory for all children, and again the major public anxiety is that the new secondary schools shall be able to offer forms of secondary education equal in value and esteem with that offered by the established secondary schools.

The 1936 Act of England and Wales was delayed for five years (as

^a It is important not to overlook the fact that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland comprises four countries inhabited by racially different peoples

^b The raising to 15 must take place not later than April 1, 1947

many previous reforms were delayed) by denominational controversies. The 1944 Act embodies—for the first time in Britain's history—an agreed compromise on the vexed questions of religious instruction and public grants-in-aid to schools on a denominational foundation. The compromise was accepted by Parliament and the public with the minimum of controversy; every one felt that no sectional interest could be allowed to delay general advance.

It has been a standing reproach to Britain's democracy that for a century or more there have been absolutely separate systems of education for the rich and the poor; the first expensive, well supplied, and well staffed, the second cheap, ill-supplied, and inadequately staffed. The new Act lays it down that the publicly maintained primary and secondary schools

. . . shall not be deemed to be sufficient unless they are sufficient in number, character and equipment to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes. . .

In other words, that the publicly maintained *free* primary and secondary schools (there are to be no tuition fees charged in maintained secondary schools after first April next) shall be fully adequate for their jobs, and so inferior to no others in the country.

In 1942 the President of the Board of Education (now the Minister of Education) set up an official committee to advise him on how to bring about a closer relationship between the exclusive "public schools" and the general educational system. No real solution has yet been found to this particularly thorny problem, but the committee did at least recommend a considerable measure of accessibility, on the score of ability alone, to the public schools

One could go on for pages giving instances of the ways in which Britain's attitude to education has radically altered. Since 1918 it has been permissible for local education authorities to provide nursery schools or classes for children below the age of 5. Few were pro-

vided, for few authorities realized the need. The new Act makes provision compulsory wherever the need is proved and the public opinion not only accepts but warmly endorses the obligation.

Equal concern is felt about the out-of-date school buildings and the overlarge classes in the primary schools. Teachers have been protesting against these for many years, but little was achieved because public opinion was apathetic. Today public opinion is determined to put an end to these obstacles to progress.

Another significant change is in the attitude toward adult education of all kinds. The provision of facilities for technical education has been lamentably inferior; it is everywhere resolved that this shall be no longer so. The universities have come under fire as never before since the early days of the nineteenth century; the public wants more university places, curricula more relevant to the needs of modern society, and more up-to-date teaching techniques. In the realm of general or "cultural" adult education a revolution all by itself has been effected, largely through the schemes of adult education promoted by the combatant services. Before the war adult education of all kinds touched no more than 3 per cent of the adult population; a few weeks ago the Ministry of Education issued a pamphlet urging the provision of community centers having an educational purpose in every sizable town and village, and were universally commended for so doing.

The above is indicative of our present state of mind in Britain. We have a long way to go, and we know it. We shall make mistakes, hesitate, fumble. But our faces are set toward full democracy, and we are determined to get there. As is only right and proper, education is leading the way.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Millhands and Preachers, by LISTON POPE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942, 369 pages.

In 1929 Gastonia, N.C., found herself front-page news throughout the nation. This sleepy cotton mill community had been invaded by the communists who had organized a strike and brought chaos to the entire community. They brought ideologies which were foreign to the inhabitants of the county. They challenged the whole capitalistic structure including its ideas of law and order, respect for private property, and above all its religion. The outcome is history and need not be repeated.

Mr Pope has made a painstaking study of the role of ministers in this county in the development of industry, during the strike conflict, and in the post-strike adjustment. The study shows amazingly the integration of the institutional fabric of a community into a total way of life. It is an answer to the theory that any one institution of the community dominates the social process. The economic determinists will be no less disappointed than those who expect the church to "save the world."

The study is an excellent illustration of cultural contact, conflict, and cultural reintegration. There was only discontent, hard living conditions, and frustration before the advent of the communists. Their appeals to mass revolt offered a way out. The strike failed because of the injection of ideologies which were too diverse to those of the strikers. In the process of cultural reintegration the church played an important role by bringing in their best evangelists to call the people back to God—which is to say back to submission.

Those who think of religious sects as conflict groups which transform society will be disappointed to know that the "holiness" groups are doing the best job of keeping the people in submission. They center attention on the next world as a sedative for present hardships.

All in all the picture is not a pretty one. People interested in religion should read the book to understand why enlightened labor is deserting the church. Sociologists should read it for its insight into institutional forces. Others should read it to gain a better understanding of the social forces that determine our social life.

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FACING THE NEED FOR INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Julius E. Warren

When we try to trace the causes of a social evil such as intercultural hostility, we are caught in a welter of religion, economics, nationalism, facial characteristics, and simple human stupidity. It is difficult to discern what causes what. Like other social evils, it resembles a dog feeding on his own tail but with this difference: The dog realizes the futility of it all in a second or two. Human societies do not seem to catch on for centuries.

Our experience in Massachusetts has definitely convinced us that improvement in understanding and action or behavior is dependent largely, but not entirely, upon education.

Therefore, I shall be concerned in education's role in this program of improved understanding and action from three points of view: (1) the classroom, using existing or supplementary subject matter; (2) the democratic organization of the school and extra-curricula activities, so that the school becomes a laboratory for best citizenship practices; and (3) the influence of a genuinely tolerant, unprejudiced, and objectively minded teacher.

1. *The Classroom.* It is generally agreed that on the lower-grade levels, the most profitable approach to this problem is through stress on the contributions of various culture groups to our own culture

The objective here is twofold. First, it is to make the child familiar with cultural diversity. Folk dances and folk songs do differ with nationality and racial background, as do foods, legends, clothing, and customs. On the other hand, it is not too difficult to bring out in the very same folk songs, dances, etc., the similarities, which by and large outweigh the differences. Thus, on a very simple level, the theme of unity in diversity receives its first important variation. It is unnecessary to multiply the ways of varying this theme further. The good teacher will see no end of opportunities to teach this lesson, all the specific devices in the book will not guarantee that a poor teacher will do so. This recognition that diversity within unity is desirable and necessary in a United States that has been called the "melting pot" is a principle essential to our national health.

As we go up the age ladder, it may be necessary to examine all the subject-matter curricula rather carefully to find areas in which mutual understandings are being *hindered*, and areas in which they might be *furthered*, for example, the whole social-studies program. I have heard at least two prominent Negro educators remark that in their own school geographies, the black man was represented by a photograph of some aboriginal bushman who would frighten ten years from any man's life, while the white man was represented by the photograph of a rather bland, good-looking European. Both Negroes wondered how many Americans formed their earliest idea about whites and Negroes from unfair contrasts such as these. There is also a growing feeling that the aim of the social studies should not be confined to imparting information, but that they should also form attitudes. Tolerance for and interest in the varied culture groups within the community should certainly be among these attitudes. That word tolerance, which ultimately is not enough, I use again because in the beginning, in our present social framework, I believe it is about all we can hope to attain.

On the junior-high and senior-high-school level, the approach can become more direct. Here it is possible to discuss and teach the

nature of prejudice and propaganda, the fallacies of racism, the danger of epithets, nicknames, catch phrases, the vice of hasty generalization from an individual to a group, and the equally vicious inference from the group to a particular individual. I am not yet certain whether a special course or subject on this topic is advisable. I am inclined to think it is not, but somewhere before the full onset of adolescence these habits of thought, for habits they are, should be cultivated. At this stage, moreover, the teaching of democracy can become more realistic and critical. Our shortages as well as our accomplishments in striving for the democratic ideal can be presented in all phases of social studies.

So far we have been speaking of what might roughly be called classroom activities. The modern school, however, does not confine itself to the classroom. Athletics, dramatics, contests of various kinds, playground activities, and hobby clubs are, to various degrees, part of the total curriculum. Perhaps in this department we have a richer nest of intercultural educational possibilities than even the classroom affords.

There are few things that grip the imagination, interest, and loyalty of the American youth and his father more than sports. So keen is their knowledge of it—often of the most amazing minutiae—so nice is their discrimination in such matters as techniques of holding a bat, passing a football, landing a left hook, that it is almost impossible for one of these connoisseurs to remember what is the nationality or creed of a star performer. Some one has remarked that Harvard may secretly rejoice in Mayflower names on Soldiers Field, but it rejoices more in a team that can beat Yale. What fight fan who is really an expert in such matters regards Joe Louis's color as relevant to the discussion? It all goes to show that the more we know about anything, the more objective we become about it, and if we knew as much about our fellow human beings as we do about baseball and bridge, it would be extremely difficult for us to maintain so many of our prejudices so long and so vigorously.

Athletics, moreover, bring out two other characteristics that we

like to think of as typically American: team play and fair play. It has been said that one of the Muncie High School graduating classes changed its class motto from *Deo Duce* to "Bear Cat Spirit," Bear Cat being the name of the high school's basketball team.

There may be evils in competition, but there are undeniable virtues in the loyalties and cooperation that intergroup competitions engender. The attitude of fairness is so spontaneously adopted in sports that one wonders how it can help being transferred to the other ways in which we live and work together. Unfortunately, the transfer is not automatic. Before we can be sure that the transfer is made, we shall have to engage our young people in a wide variety of cooperative enterprises and point out to them their common elements of team play and fair play.

Such activities can very well include those in which young people are introduced to adult community affairs, such as Red Cross drives, Community Chest campaigns, clean-up campaigns, and many home-front activities. Can we sell young people the idea that the community is as much a proper object of their loyalty as their football team; that their Nation depends as much on their enthusiasm and zeal as does their basketball team? There is a very big and bright gold star waiting for the educator who can show that this can be done; and I strongly suspect that particular educator will be one who has succeeded in scumbling the sharp lines of demarcation between school and the rest of the community.

2. *The School Organization.* I come now to an even more indirect method of intercultural education, that of organizing and conducting a school so that it exemplifies and exhibits in all its doings the democratic way and the democratic spirit. Many teachers who come to study the so-called Springfield plan are a little disappointed not to find tolerance-dispensing machines in the school corridors. They will not find them, because the essence of that plan is more or less a mode of carrying on a great many school activities rather than any particular activity in itself.

The Springfield plan is largely a series of situations in which individuals of all age groups are encouraged to express themselves, think critically about themselves and others, and to work together for a common goal. This type of organization is probably *harder* to achieve than the installation of a curriculum or the use of a specific device, yet in the long run it does "pay off."

3. *The Teacher.* All that has been said about the school presupposes from first to last a teaching staff that itself is sophisticated about the causes, mechanics, symptoms, and remedies of intercultural intolerance. Without such teachers, nothing will work very long or very well.

We have two rather distinct problems here. One is the removal of prejudice and intolerance from the teacher as a person; the other is to enable him or her to deal with problems of intercultural tension in the school.

The teacher-training institution is responsible for equipping the teacher for both tasks. Prospective teachers should acquire an appreciation of different cultures in two ways: first, by formal instruction in such courses as sociology, anthropology, history, social psychology, and secondly, by becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the community in general and the homes of individual children in particular. Pre-service training probably provides this opportunity even less than does the full busy day of the teacher in service permit her to know the home background of her pupils. Growth in real understanding of children's needs and their difficulties can only come when we are able to provide this opportunity.

Such general appreciation of differing cultures will go far toward purging the prospective teacher of tension and prejudice, but since so many of the individual's biases are passive and subconscious, a deliberate self-analysis of every prospective teacher to locate such prejudices should be a part of teacher preparation. Existing courses in psychology can probably be adapted to this end, providing the instructors of such courses make a systematic effort to do so.

Although it may be pointed out that emphasizing intercultural friction might impel a new teacher to look for bogeymen where none exists and might conceivably create the very evils we are trying to exorcise, it is probably true that oversophistication in such matters is a lesser evil than overnaiveté.

In regard to training the teacher to apply her knowledge in the classroom, I would be inclined to worry less about this if I were assured that the prospective teacher really understood that the key device is to be found in the fact that nothing binds diverse human beings together so well as a common enterprise whose success depends on many individuals contributing differently to the successful completion of it. Finding such tasks and getting pupils to engage in them so that the tasks are really educative is the key skill. Here I am reminded of what Jacques Barzun said in his recent book, *Teacher in America*. Speaking of the word "teaching," he says:

The word helps us again to the idea. The advantage of "teaching" is that in using it you must recognize—if you are in your sober senses—that practical limits exist. You know by instinct that it is impossible to "teach" democracy, or citizenship, or a happy married life. I do not say that these virtues and benefits are not somehow connected with good teaching. They are, but they occur as by-products. They come, not from a course, but from a teacher; not from a curriculum, but from a human soul.

In-service training of teachers presents a somewhat different problem in as much as prejudices, if they already exist, have had a chance to harden with the years, but the difference is essentially one of degree and not of kind. The aims here are the same as those for pre-service training; the methods will, of course, have to differ. The workshop, extension courses, teachers' meetings, panel discussions, addresses by experts, development of curriculum centers, and many other forms of in-service training can be utilized, provided that we occasionally remember that there are only twenty-four hours even in a teacher's day, and that teachers' salaries are not made of elastic.

I have thus far sketched in outline some of the steps that our

schools might and ought to take in dealing with the problem of intercultural tensions. Let us now suppose that the schools carry out this program or even a much better one. Presumably all we should now have to do is wait until the present school generation becomes adult and the millenium would be here. A generation so adequately conditioned and informed should be able to pat its elders on the back, smile with amused toleration at their prejudices, and send them into retirement.

It is probably true, as one British observer points out, that our schools try to do much more than they can do (which is very American) and accomplish much more than they seem to (which is also very American). He goes on to point out that, while perhaps American schools do not come up to European schools in academic achievement, the American schools are doing far more than instruct youth. "They are letting them instruct each other how to live in Amercia"; I hope he is right. But the longer I work in education, the fewer miracles I expect from it, and the more faith I have in it. That schools with the very best of intentions and programs can obliterate intolerance is one miracle that I do not anticipate in my most optimistic moments. Why not?

The answer lies, of course, in the nature of the relationship between the school as a social agency and all the other agencies that constitute vectors of influence on the individual.

To put the matter bluntly, it is not only possible, but it is too often the case that a community whose schools are fighting intolerance at fever heat and whose citizens eagerly endorse the program with a genuine glow of good will around the heart will tolerate cultural discrimination in its politics, will have areas in which certain groups cannot reside, certain establishments in which they cannot work, certain schools which they cannot attend, and certain people who hate certain other groups with fine fervor.

Now how long do you think the most efficient and sincere school program will remain functional in this sort of atmosphere? Let us

not forget that school children enter a world run by adults in spite of what we orators say at commencement. One actual example of discrimination is more powerful than a year of democratic teaching.

So without a program that will help communities produce an atmosphere that not only gives consent but, more than that, does not stultify what we are trying to do in the schools, the prospect of ultimate success in this field is well nigh hopeless. While any one of these community conditions I have mentioned here will take a long time to completely change or cure, beginnings in the community must precede any very successful work in the schools.

The Massachusetts Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding recognizes this fact, and what it is trying to do on a State-wide basis must be done by an analogous committee in each community. This committee has, as I see it, two quite different functions. One I shall call prophylactic education and the other ameliorative action.

Under prophylactic education should be included a variety of programs. There should be small study groups suited by ability and temperament to undertake the more abstract reading on the problem of minorities, as related to sociology, economics, and politics.

These groups will necessarily be small, but they can become very influential. The community council should try to locate leaders for the groups. Courses for teachers and social workers might also come under this heading.

On a less abstract level, the community council should sponsor programs for P.T.A. groups, Brotherhood Week, interfaith forums, I Am An American Day, and general good-will meetings that utilize popular lecturers, movies, debates, and exhibits. It should also see to it that the library has adequate literature on the subject. There are a number of organizations that are primarily or incidentally interested in intercultural relations, and the community council could serve as coordinating agency among them.

The community council, moreover, should sponsor projects which

demand the active participation of diverse groups and should see to it that in all community projects all cultural elements are properly represented.

As ameliorative action, the community council should organize a research and action committee that would undertake to discover the actual areas of discrimination and tension within the community.

The council also should serve as a clearing house for all complaints, incidents, rumors, subversive, and divisive literature. The very fact that such a committee is in existence and on the alert will serve as a deterrent to the more vigorous haters in the community.

These are some of the things the community can do. In Massachusetts about eleven communities have more or less spontaneously formed councils, and more, I am sure, will be established in the near future.

If we can get our attack functioning on the two fronts simultaneously, the schools and the community, I do not for a moment doubt that given time, we shall see some progress in this seemingly endless task.

"Hard is the good," and "nothing great is easy," remarked Socrates. What we are trying to do in America is certainly not easy, but is there any doubt that it is both great and good?

I like to ride on trains today—G.I. Joes, sailors and their girls, young mothers with baby girls, businessmen, WACs and WAVEs, clergymen; clear-eyed, straight-looking, kindly people putting up with inconveniences, dirt, standing in line, sitting on suitcases. The letters I get from boys at the front tell me that they know what each racial group is contributing to this war. It gives me courage that now is the time; that there is a chance. We have mobilized America pretty well for war. If we can get these people on our side, we can mobilize for peace with the outcome of decent human relationships and a genuinely unified America

INTERGROUP EDUCATION WORKSHOPS AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS

H. H. Giles

The essential idea of the workshop in teacher education is to put its facilities at the disposal of individuals and groups who have come together to work out better ways of dealing with their own problems. As schools have become increasingly aware of their responsibility toward the issues raised by group conflicts, there has come an increasing need for intergroup emphases in the education of faculty members as well as students. For the past several years, workshops devoted to these emphases have been held. At two meetings in recent months,¹ inquiry was made into the chief problem areas in this field with which schools and workshops have so far found it necessary to concern themselves. The following report gives a brief outline summary which may be useful to workshop staffs.

For convenience, the outline has been placed under four major divisions.

The first is administrative procedures; the second, curriculum and methods; the third, teacher education; the fourth, school-community relations. Under each of these heads, certain points are given, which, by unanimous consent of "old hands," deserve special attention.

1. Administrative procedures

a) The development of common agreement regarding purposes and goals—both immediate and distant. In the workshop itself this will require administrative leadership so that the staff and the participants define what it is that they believe in, and what they want to do. In the school system this will require at the least the produc-

¹ The first, to evaluate past workshops, held in Chicago at the Julius Rosenwald Fund on November 3 and 4, 1945. The second at Montclair Teachers College, N. J., January 26 to February 2, for leadership training. Both held under the auspices of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

tion of a statement by the board of education, and more detailed interpretation of the board's policies by the superintendent, principals, teachers, and community organizations working with them.

b) An analysis of the major problems in the local situation. This requires administrative arrangements giving authority and responsibility for collecting evidence of what tensions and conflicts exist, who is responsible, possible courses of action, and action being taken.

c) An analysis of financing in relation to salaries of teachers, housing, materials and equipment needed to provide equal opportunity for all social groups through education.

d) Suggested plans for city-wide, regional, and local organization to study, work on, and evaluate successful and unsuccessful attempts to improve school practice.

e) Plans for working cooperatively with other community organizations—mayor's committee, service organizations, parent groups, and the like—toward common solutions of the problems of human conflict.

f) The development and recognition of local leadership. This will begin with the administrative staff, but will extend to teachers, students, and parents. It will include also such questions as the function and training of department heads and of supervisors.

g) Provisions for therapy and guidance through special departments where they exist, through homerooms, and through the training of every teacher under experts in the field

h) Provision for direct handling of cases of violence where they occur in the school or on the playground by means which will relieve rather than suppress tensions

i) Attention to and alteration of schedules to provide time for teachers, students, and parents to work effectively at the job of learning and putting into effect better human-relations practices

j) Provision for personnel and other resources to conduct evaluations, keep and interpret records of changes in practice and their influence on behavior.

2. Curriculum and methods

a) An analysis of textbooks now in use to determine their value in developing understanding of human conflicts—its causes and cures.

b) An analysis of reference materials, including pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, radio programs, motion pictures, recordings, film strips, trips, and members of the community who may be interviewed.

c) An analysis of units of study now employed, with proposals for change or replacement.

d) An analysis of all possible opportunities in each subject-matter field for the introduction of intercultural information. Discovery of where it is possible to correct fields of study to current community problems in intercultural relations.

e) Possibilities for the introduction of new courses, or new units, or new uses of knowledge from anthropology, psychology, and sociology.

f) Formulation in each class of objectives and evaluation devices which will include attitudes and human relationships among individuals and groups.

g) Discussion and practice of many methods for focussing on intercultural relations; e.g., teacher-pupil planning, teacher-teacher planning, teacher-parent planning, forums, sociometric drama, simple group therapy, etc.

h) Experience in and evaluation of the direct *v.* the indirect approach to conflicts.

3. Teacher education

a) Analysis and proposals for pre-service training of teachers in intercultural education.

b) The development of methods for selecting and inducting new teachers and administrators on the basis of knowledge and attitudes toward human-relations problems.

c) Plans for in-service education of all school staff members in intercultural education. This will include: formation of committees; procurement of study materials; formal and informal seminars; workshops; etc. It will also include exchange of visitation between teachers in the same school and system and between cities.

d) Provision for study, discussion, and statements dealing with the meaning of the democratic ideal for the practice of school faculty members.

e) A listing of and acquaintance with the agencies now in the field, and the services they may provide to schools.

f) Knowledge of materials and specialists in the human sciences; e.g., biology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, etc.

g) Acquaintance with present and plans for future projects suitable for individuals, groups, and home activity. This will include materials, techniques, and evaluation. It requires first-hand experience in all.

h) Acquaintance with available techniques and procedures of evaluation. Experience in devising new instruments and materials.

i) Production of learning resources; e.g., writing, art products, photographic materials, etc.

j) Knowledge of how to recognize and deal with one's own prejudices and beliefs as they affect personal and professional behavior.

4. School-community relations

a) An evaluation of present points of contact between the schools and the community. Proposals for ways by which community leadership and school leadership can engage in joint planning for intercultural education.

b) Particular attention to studies possible through schools and useful in community attack on the following major areas affecting intercultural relations: adult education, employment, housing, health practices, police practices, political procedures, and recreation.

GROUP LIVING AS A PART OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

Margaret Mead

Group living in intergroup education may be viewed from several different points of view. It may be seen simply as a necessity if the school is to be held in the United States, because otherwise many of the members of minority groups who attend the school or institute would have no place to stay, might have to travel a disproportionate distance to classes or meetings. This applies to speakers as well as to students or members. It is becoming very common for institutions located at some distance from a town to be willing to invite and even pay a handsome honorarium to speakers from minority groups, but feel themselves helpless when it comes to extending hospitality to them. These members of minority groups are faced with unpleasant choices between midnight journeys on milk trains, unfed and unrested, or refusal of invitations to speak. Setting up all intergroup workshops, institutes, and conferences on a group-living basis eliminates these complications from the start. The sponsoring institution automatically places its facilities at the disposal of all the members. In the North, at least, it provides a setting from which a mixed group can issue forth to church or meeting, secure in the shared pattern of living which otherwise is impossible to assure as long as communities discriminate as they do.

Furthermore, common residence is one of the simplest and most dignified ways of gradually accustoming other members of the staff and patrons of such institutes to the presence of members of minority groups who usually have been informally, even if not legally, barred. Where incidents occur under such circumstances, members who have objected to discrimination intellectually, but have no deep commitment to its abolition, become involved as members of a group, defending all the members of their group, and are able to feel the issue not in abstract terms but in concrete human terms.

If we turn from these purely practical aspects of intergroup living, it is useful to distinguish between groups which are not primarily designed for intergroup education and the groups assembled to discuss and study intergroup problems. The Vassar Institute of Euthenics with its multigroup membership, but with its emphasis on personality development and parent-child relationships, is an example of the first type; the Wellesley School of Community Affairs and the various intercultural workshops are examples of the second type.

All of those types of intergroup living, which are not primarily designed as intergroup education, are probably wise to avoid as much as possible explicit discussion of intergroup problems, and concentrate on every one working together toward the ends for which the group has met. Single forum or panel discussion, especially discussions in which members of the common-living group participate, are likely to highlight hostilities and create tensions with which the group has neither the time nor the technical skills to deal. If there is to be any emphasis at all on the group differences that are represented, it is safer to make them entirely and overtly constructive by bringing out the best in each group. This can be done by discussions that stress the values in the different practices of the constituent groups.

It can be done in a dramatic form playing up the graceful rituals, the moving poetry, the common aspirations, and common enthusiasms such as Rachel Davis Dubois's neighborhood home festival.¹

These are excellent devices to initiate intergroup relationships among people who are frightened and suspicious of one another. They add poignancy and drama to the group situation in which individuals of each group can weave together elements from their cultural backgrounds. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that methods which evoke strong or painful emotion are not necessary

¹ See Rachel Davis Dubois, *Get Together Americans* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943).

in groups of this type. They should in no case be attempted except under a direction which is experienced in the techniques that are being used.

Different techniques are necessary and different results may be expected of groups assembled to study intergroup problems. Intergroup education is designed not simply to create good feeling, not merely to bring members of different groups together because they are all involved in the problem under consideration, not merely to bring them together to affirm the democratic policy of an institution and provide equal opportunities for members of all groups. It has to equip people with the necessary moral dynamic, intellectual understanding, emotional sensitivity, and detailed concrete experience so that they can operate in the field of intergroup relations.

In such groups maximum clarity and articulacy is desirable. The members have to learn to discuss interracial and interreligious problems simply, without self-consciousness, without equivocation and evasion. They have to learn the particular types of distortion of personality that are inherent in both minority and majority positions, which may lie back of the way with which one minority group interrogates another, or the equally exasperating calmness with which one majority member will assume that another member of his group is, of course, a delightful and sincere person. Members of each group have to learn to accept both the strengths and the weaknesses, the prides and the fears, the defenses and the rationalizations, the folklore and the barbed jokes of the other groups.

While the poetic and dramatic aspects are important, cultural education demands an equally vivid recognition of the defects in any social system which accords some groups, by virtue of factors in which they themselves play no part (race or place of birth), a position in society denied to others because of factors in which, again, they played no part. This means that the group's experiences must be broad enough to give an opportunity for an expression of snobbery, chauvinism, and weak rationalization, as well as for reali-

zation of a poignant injustice and spiritually uplifting determination toward a future championing of the right.

Because of the social situation which culturally mixed groups face, there is a tendency to locate them in the country and, if possible, in isolation "where everyone will understand." But all isolated, self-contained groups tend to develop in ways that have very definite disadvantages. To the extent that the experience is rewarding, individuals who have to go out to face a world where issues are blurred and associates "unreasonable" or "unenlightened" will hesitate to leave the group, will turn nostalgically toward it, will try to make its leaders into support figures, and will often be unable to use the feeling generated within their group as a dynamic for individual activity outside. The group experience will become an experience *parallel* to the rest of living, not a prelude to more effective activity. This is always a danger to any conference in which the ethical aim is pitched a little higher than, and counterpointed against, the ordinary demands of the society from which the members come. It becomes more of a danger in association with people from another class, or race, or creed, or nationality with whom one had never expected to live under conditions of understanding and intimacy. It is perhaps most a danger in intercultural education, as the contrasts between the members are the very stuff of which the group experience is made. To minimize these disadvantages, certain precautions are possible. Members of "the real world" can be brought into the group as informants, lecturers, panel members, consultants, etc., and kept there long enough for genuine informal give and take over the luncheon table. Whenever possible, it is a good thing to share the same living quarters with other, differently oriented conferences so that uncritical identification with standards of behavior which the rest of the world votes as impracticable will be continually challenged at meals, on the tennis lawns, on the beach. This continuous testing experience will also keep the members of the intercultural group hard at work making articulate their

developing attitudes and subjecting the assumptions, which they have made under the high pressure of group emotion, to the cool light of skepticism and individual disagreement.

Precautions can also be taken against having a type of leadership that contributes to an unproductive group centeredness either by any traces of Messiah behavior or by any emphasis upon singleness of leadership. Singleness of leadership is particularly undesirable in an intercultural group because the leader can only be a member of one sex, one religion, usually represents only one race and one nationality, and can only be one age and of one class. Whenever possible the structure of the leadership should draw contributions from many different sources without emphasizing too heavily artificial elements of balance, quotas, or representation.

Finally, it is important to have some method of closing the group experience which will not be traumatic, which will orient each member outwards, which will make his group experience accessible but not nostalgic, and leave an impulse toward further action. Complete catharsis, of the type which comes from deeply satisfying and moving emotional experiences, may send individuals out so emotionally satisfied that they feel no need for action. This is the sort of response which the Wellesley group felt was evoked by the radio program, "The Melting Pot Boils," an episode in the radio series "Here's to Youth," a dreadful state of interracial feeling dramatized, felt, and resolved—all in the course of fifteen minutes. Perhaps a good rule of thumb for the amount of desirable catharsis might be that all catharsis inside the group experience should be directed toward abreacting the tensions, which derived from that experience, from the mistakes and miscalculations and lacks of restraint and control, but not toward abreacting the deeper sense of social injustice or desire to right these wrongs. If, for instance, some individuals in the group feel specifically that the program has been too specific, or too general, too intellectual, or too emotional,

weighted in favor of one special interest or need rather than another, it will be important to include some device for resolving these feelings of grievance or resentment, for their lack of resolution may prevent the members of the group from going forward. One is only free to place a good experience where it belongs if the good elements are not needed in the present to keep down memories of some of the less acceptable ones. In practice, the most likely forms of resentment come from differential participation in group discussions or differential sense of recognition either from leaders or other members of the group. The ideal termination, or weaning experience, should therefore be cathartic of difficulties that have occurred in the group, relieve any guilt that any member may feel over their unwillingness to leave the group or over a great willingness to leave it, and serve as a final catharsis for all the unfortunate and traumatic incidents which may have occurred.

Mr. Charles Hendry, as a leader of the first unit of the 1944 Wellesley School, invented a closing speech which is specially useful in providing this sort of final experience. Interspersed throughout a more usual type of farewell address, summarizing findings and redetailing experiences, he put a chorus of verbatim selections from the running record of the series of group meetings, phrases from members, from informants, from lectures, from a song sung or an incident quoted which he called "overtones." The formal report of the two-week unit used the usual time scale, in which one event came after another, until finally the present was reached. These overtones, reinvoked as a unit and placed in sequence, kept and held the total two-week experience. Behind the sense of normal ongoing time, which was necessary if the members of the group were to leave comfortably the next day, he placed the full force of the total experience, no longer cognitively but now entirely emotionally organized, in the form of association which is used in a dream or a work of art. In the course of an hour, the group relived and grew

beyond the preceding two weeks, but outgrew them not as clothing to be laid aside but as one grows beyond one's childhood stature by incorporating one phase of growth into a later phase.

The importance of this invention in workshop or school termination can hardly be overemphasized. A group which dissolves without ceremony, without permission to become nongroup as it were, loses much of the value of the experience. It is not of course necessary to follow this specific form as a rigid model, but the purposes which it served should always be kept in mind.

Aside from the considerations already outlined, the principal importance of group living for learning is the possibility of establishing emotional continuity between one session and another. This means that it is possible to arouse feeling more freely than can be done in single sessions because wise direction can carry along the thread of meaning and interpretation from one session to another. Each session should, however, be complete enough in itself. To accomplish this end, it is desirable to demonstrate early in the program (1) a session in which emotions are aroused and discharged, which will build up an expectation of sessions being able to take care of themselves, and (2) the way in which a question raised or an emotion aroused—on Monday—may find an answer or a resolution—on Tuesday. The confidence that "this is going to make sense, this is going to come out right, group sessions in which we work together will develop the answers" has to be built up at the start. Obviously, any disagreements in the leadership team or any lack of confidence in the methods used may be more fatal to such an attitude than they will be when more academic and routine methods of group construction are used. Sociodrama,² if conducted by a trained leader, is an excellent method of establishing confidence in the group's capacity to feel together as well as think together. Dramatic performances, which are theatrical in character, acted out in the

² Charles Hendry, R. Lippitt, and A. Zander, *Reality Practice as Educational Method* (New York: Beacon House, Psycho-Drama Monograph, No. 9, 1944)

spirit of charades, and relying upon individual exhibitionism and virtuosity, seem to be less appropriate and may actually impede the development of group confidence.

The major objection which may be raised against the explicit use of emotion in sociodrama, in neighborhood home festival, in autobiographical comment, and occasional "testifying," comes from the fear that emotion will becloud the real issues and the belief that what people need most is to think straight about the facts. Unless the emotionally toned experiences are harnessed to an increase in intellectual as well as emotional^a understanding, the whole group experience may lose its force. The group members need not only practice in feeling about the conditions in our society about which they have known but never felt, but also they need the discipline of practising the degree of objectivity which is necessary if they are to make an intelligent contribution to the intercultural field.

A slight degree of such objectivity may be obtained by the use of an anthropological technique, that of informants. Informants are members of another culture to whom one turns for understanding of that culture expecting to find the understanding by seeing the informant as a valid sample of his culture and of some group within it. He is not seen as an expert, to be accepted or rejected, nor as an exponent of a point of view which is right or wrong; nor is he evaluated as ignorant or sage. He is simply listened to intensely so that one may learn more of the culture, or aspects of culture, which he embodies as he talks, moves, emphasizes, evades, lights up, looks uncomfortable, turns suddenly communicative, retreats into suspicion, elaborates or skimps his statement. Irish policeman or Italian labor leader, Yankee constable or Negro personnel worker, Polish

^a In using this traditional distinction between emotional and intellectual, I am merely following the convention of speech and premise which will be used against this form of education. Obviously, such an educational form is postulated on the assumption that this is an artificial distinction and that the whole personality is engaged in learning. In discussing Mr. Hendry's invention, however, I have invoked the assumption that different sorts of association characterize different kinds of thinking.

political leader or Southern teacher—each one appears and talks to the group as himself or herself. The members of the group learn not to react with emotion but to listen and listen again. If an adequate use is made of informants, they will be found to provide a discipline in objectivity which keeps steady the increased emotional sensitivity developed by the use of sociodrama, the arts, and other emotional experiences. The group will also be better protected if the necessary unpleasant experiences come in the form of informants, telling the distortions which have been wrought in their lives by an undemocratic order, rather than through discussions in which members of the group are allowed to expose the others to traumatic incidents of hostility.

Very good results can be obtained if, during a school session, every effort is made to use constructively all the kinds of difference in the group,⁴ and the members of the group are asked to face and deal with intolerance of youth or age, or extreme slowness of sex, or class, or region, as articulately as they are asked to face the traditional discriminations of religion, race, and nationality background. In these less emphasized forms of prejudice there are fewer clichés, thinking is less stereotyped, and the mechanics of effective recognition and valuation of common humanity and valuable diversity can be more easily pointed out.

Dr Mead is Associate Curator of the American Museum of Natural History and was director of the Wellesley School of Community Affairs for 1944

⁴ "Wellesley School of Community Affairs," *Progressive Education*, 22:4 (February 1945), pp. 4-8

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst

For several years the University of Chicago has conducted a workshop in human development and education as a means of encouraging practical application of our growing knowledge of human development and behavior. In 1945 we shall have a special workshop group on human development and intercultural education. Members of this group will study the basic scientific material on intergroup relations and apply this material to the working situations with which they are concerned.

The Approach Through the Study of Human Development

The science of human development and behavior is a composite of human biology, psychology, and sociology. It is a selection and integration from these basic sciences.

In the field of human biology we emphasize the individual inheritance of physical and mental traits, the growth of the body and its organs, and human physiology. For those interested in intercultural education the study of heredity is most important among the biological subjects. What traits are inherited and what are the laws of their inheritance? To what extent do various races and ethnic groups differ genetically? These questions we seek to answer in the workshop.

Psychology, as it deals with the mental, social, and personal development of human beings, forms the core of the science of human development. The material from psychology most relevant to intercultural education is that which deals with the learning of social behavior and with the formation of personality.

Sociology and social anthropology complete the task of laying a

scientific foundation for the understanding of human behavior and development. They deal with group behavior and with the relation of the individual to the social group. The problems of intergroup and intercultural relations fall most clearly into this area.

The task of the individual worker in the field of education is to get the relevant knowledge of human development and to integrate it into a set of working concepts which he can apply on his job. To achieve this task he needs to carry on two parallel operations.

First, he forms a set of generalizations about human behavior and development, which he can apply to new situations as he meets them. For example, he formulates a general theory of the methods by which group prejudices are learned and of the methods by which they are unlearned. With these generalizations at his command, he can deal more intelligently with problems of educational and social policy.

Second, the educator learns a set of techniques for getting the necessary knowledge to deal with specific problems as they arise. A classroom teacher, for example, needs to know how to get systematic information on an individual child and what kinds of information to get. All of her generalizations about child development will be of little help in dealing with an individual child unless she knows how to get the necessary information about that child. Human beings differ so greatly among themselves and their individual circumstances vary so widely that they cannot be treated alike. Some specific information is needed for each individual case.

The same thing is true of situations in human relations. Generalizations about human relations serve as a basis for intelligent policy, but each situation is unique, and demands specific information. A conflict between religious groups in city A is not the same as a conflict between religious groups in city B. The worker in human relations needs to know how to find the necessary information about the particular situation that confronts him.

Our program of instruction in human development aims to equip

people with both things: the most useful generalizations about human development and behavior, and the techniques for getting necessary knowledge about specific situations.

The Contribution of Human Development to Intercultural Education

Intercultural and interracial situations can be understood only in terms of the total system of physical, social, and psychological forces that organize human behavior in our society. The study of human development, as carried out by physical and cultural anthropologists, by sociologists, and by social psychologists, is advancing toward this integrated theoretical framework. It is also developing interrelated *methods* for the analysis of social psychological problems. The study and handling of intercultural problems in terms of this total context (the study of the individual in society) throws new light upon intercultural processes.

At every level of practice, the worker in this kind of situation needs to be informed on three basic concepts. They are the concepts of heredity, of social structure, and of cultural learning. Concerning heredity, he needs to know the limitations of "race" as a genetic concept and the relations between interracial and intraracial variation. He needs especially to know that cultural behavior is not a function of race.

The concept of social structure, as a system of relationships and statuses which largely determine both social behavior and emotional patterns, is one of the most necessary concepts for the worker in this field. The worker who has a clear view of the status structure of Anglo-Mexican-American relationships, or of color caste, or of social classes in a high school is able to foresee and to calculate the responses to a given situation of both the dominant and the subordinate groups. He is far less likely, moreover, to be misled by the verbal defenses and "explanations" of both groups. The recent studies of American social structure, both of the community as a

whole, and of the social classes, ethnic groups, and color castes within it, have furnished us with a better tool for the prediction of the systematic responses of people within these groups.

The most useful concept for those working in intercultural situations is that of culture as a learned way of life, a basic system of social habits and values. It is a concept which very few teachers, principals, playground and community-house workers, or factory executives understand. Such persons usually have no knowledge of the cultural motivation of the groups under their direction. They usually have no concept of the relationship between the family culture, its goals and values, and what the child or worker expects from, and does in, the school, factory, or community house.

The worker in this field needs to understand that all the cultural behavior of underprivileged, or ethnic groups, has been learned, that the concept of culture includes all human behavior learned from, and in conformity with, a human group. He needs to realize its span and its grip; that it includes the mores, skills, rituals, dogmas, codes, goals, etc., of the family, the play group, the social clique, the social class, and the ethnic group. Among these cultural learnings—and related to the whole system of such learnings he needs to see—are the ethnic and racial "prejudices"

The concept of culture, including cultural learning and cultural change, is crucial to the understanding of "racial" or religious group relationships in this country. The workshop leads the student to analyze these changing relationships in terms of two major cultural processes, those of *socialization* and of *acculturation*. He begins to see that the habits and values of the underprivileged or ethnic individual are *learned* from his family, gang, church, etc., in the process of his becoming a socialized human being, as his community understands this process. Changes in racial and ethnic relationships, it is shown, result chiefly from acculturation, which is the process by which individuals, or groups, change their cultural habits and values. The difficulties involved in this changing,

whether from foreign to American culture, or from lower class to middle class culture and status, are the crux of our racial and ethnic conflicts.

There is one other major concept necessary for teachers who work in this field. It originates in our political, educational, and religious philosophies. This concept is that the public-school system is the essential training ground for a democratic society. It should decrease the antagonisms between the social strata in American society. It should give the children of the various social levels and races a chance to interact with one another and to learn to accept certain common loyalties and standards of justice. To a much greater extent than social scientists realize, our public schools, where they are not segregated, actually do instill democratic concepts of justice. Teachers must place a higher estimate upon their own value and potential influence in this work than they now do. The workshop emphasizes the fact that the American public schools are the most strategic institutions for the improvement of democracy in this country.

The workshop also emphasizes specific techniques to be used in the analysis of intercultural situations. The worker should know how to employ and to interpret the simpler sociometric and projective techniques for the definition of both group relationships and individual attitudes. Even more important is the informal interview, an unexcelled technique for learning either cultural or personal motivation.

Finally, this approach implies new methods of teaching. Discussion and the socialized *interviews* must be developed so that the teacher may learn those cultural obstacles which the pupil faces in learning. Only by "drawing out" the ethnic pupil, through discussion and group interviewing, can the teacher discover where the pupil is situated in the learning process. This technique is quite different from the ordinary "socialized discussion," as usually practised.

Procedures in the Chicago Workshop

The University of Chicago workshop differs from most workshops in its combination of emphasis on theory and practice. Where most workshops concentrate on practice, the Chicago workshop devotes approximately equal amounts of time to theory and practice. The reason for this has been explained: Most workshop participants need more knowledge of human development as a basis for their practice.

The scientific background is secured by workshop participants in three ways: by working in seminars, by taking regular courses, and by reading.

The seminars are a unique feature of the Chicago workshop. They consist of short, intensive periods of study on one aspect of human development. The seminar group is limited to a maximum of fifteen. It meets usually for two hours every day, though meetings are sometimes omitted in order to allow more time for reading. The leader prepares a bibliography, and the seminar group plans to cover the material through lectures, reports on reading, and discussions. Three weeks is given to a seminar. Thus the workshop participant gets two seminars in a six-week period, or three in a nine-week period. Seminars of special interest to workers in the field of intercultural education are the following:

(a) The Social Development of Children and Adolescents; (b) The Individual's Developing Values and Attitudes; (c) Social Status and Education; and (d) Methods of Studying Personality.

Regular university courses sometimes meet the needs of workshop participants for scientific background. The participant is limited to one such course, in order to keep time free for the more intensive work in a seminar and on his own individual problem. Most people prefer the greater flexibility of seminars, special-interest groups, and individual work. However, a course offered this summer by Professor Davis on problems of intercultural education will be especially valuable to workshop participants.

Individual reading is the third method of building up a body of scientific knowledge. For this purpose we maintain a special library and a collection of unpublished and pamphlet materials, in addition to the regular University libraries

The other aspect of the workshop program, work by the individual on his own practical problem, is aided in the workshop by individual conferences with the staff members and consultants and by the formation of special-interest groups. Participants normally confer with an adviser at least once a week about their own individual projects, and they consult other staff members when they need more help.

The special-interest group in intercultural education will organize itself at the beginning of the workshop, and plan a series of meetings. To these meetings will be invited consultants from the University faculty and from various community agencies in Chicago that are working on intercultural problems. Members of the group will also be aided in visiting interesting projects in Chicago in order to broaden their field experience.

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A WORKSHOP FOR URBAN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

A Community Request

Stewart G. Cole

In the autumn of 1944, the administrators of the city and county schools of Los Angeles asked the West Coast branch of the Bureau for Intercultural Education for a workshop. It soon developed that other community agencies were interested in a similar service. These requests eventuated in a workshop for eighty-five persons representing public schools, Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles Youth Project, Los Angeles Housing Authority, and various other social agencies as well as university faculties and private citizens. Ethnically, the members included a predominantly "Anglo" group numbering sixty-six, the remainder being Jews, Negroes, Mexicans, and American Indians.

The workshop was conducted in seven periods of five hours each, one of which was reserved for dinner. Each session was assisted by an invited resource leader drawn from public-school educators, adult education, psychology and psychiatry, social work, religious work, law, and anthropology. Each consultant helped with one or two workshop sessions. The director was responsible for general planning, for preparing the consultants to meet the session most effectively, and for providing the summaries and reviews necessary for continuity.

The Projected Program

1. Purpose and assumptions

It was the purpose of the workshop that members improve their professional services, thus contributing more effectively to the lessening of intergroup tensions that disturb the peoples of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The members of the workshop sought to acquire a more factual and scientific approach to these problems, to understand some-

what better what happens to personalities involved in intergroup conflicts, and to discover sounder educational methods in the several fields of community endeavor represented in the group

It was recognized that the problems to be considered in this project were highly complicated and that methods of procedure were not available with which to blueprint the situations clearly. Patient and painstaking efforts were essential on the part of every member if a scientific approach was to be attained. Some of the issues to be dealt with were quite controversial. The personal emotions of members would become an intrinsic element in pointing the problem and determining the procedure. It would be difficult at times to keep divided and hypersensitive feelings directed in constructive channels. Partisanship and chauvinism would doubtless intervene occasionally. Members of the workshop who belonged to minority and dominant groups in the community might conceivably misunderstand or hurt each other by their *inconsiderate remarks* and thus introduce new factors into the already exacting situation.

These and kindred factors in the situation provided an opportunity for the director to undertake an experiment in method of workshop procedure, both in regard to content of materials to be considered and concerning ways and means of dealing with them. There was, as a consequence, much trial and error. The project was set up and directed in the terms of three basic principles: (1) It deliberately included not only a wide diversity of professional leaders in the community, but a sampling of members of most of the prevailing dominant and minority racial and cultural groups in the area, (2) it operated on an educational basis rather than on an indoctrinational or propaganda basis, bringing to the discussion of various themes appropriate documentary materials and the findings of related sciences; and (3) it attempted to pitch the discussion and command the resources of learning in terms of what American democracy has to offer for the more intelligent and just treatment of the human problems that were under consideration.

2 Program

A syllabus outlining a program of study and practice was prepared by the director and circulated among prospective members in advance of the first meeting. The syllabus outlined seven themes: social and cultural tensions in southern California, the diagnosis of prejudice and discrimination, educating the attitudes and emotions of persons involved in con-

lict situations, good intercultural practices in school and community, educational methods for combating prejudice and spreading understanding, and reports and appraisals of projects worked out by members of the shop.

This outline served to stimulate and direct the members of the group rather than to circumscribe their interests. Repeatedly, owing to the trend of the discussions in the various sessions, other phases of the subject than those suggested in the syllabus were explored.

The syllabus also provided a reading list of appropriate materials on each subject. The bureau office furnished a library supporting these references, which was kept in circulation during the seven weeks' period. Also available to members was an extensive file of documentary materials which the bureau had been gathering from various school and community agencies throughout the country. A kit of pamphlet materials to help him secure ready orientation to intergroup problems was placed in the hands of each participant.

Procedures

A member of the workshop served as chairman at each session. The director was asked to review briefly the gist of the discussion at the earlier meeting and to point the relation of what had gone before to the subject of the hour. The chairman then introduced the theme for the session and invited questions and comments. Questions were redirected to the resource leaders, and free exchanges of views were encouraged among the panel members and between panel and workshop members. Periodically the director was asked to restate the issue and suggest next steps in the consideration of the theme.

From fifty to eighty per cent of the members of the workshop participated in every session. There was no problem of stimulating and maintaining interest. On the contrary, it was necessary at times for the chairman to intervene and ask members to wait in turn for opportunities to participate in the discussion of the subject.

The first session of the workshop was a difficult occasion for every one. Many of the members were strange to each other; they

were interested primarily in their own specialized approach to the problems of intergroup relations. Not a few wanted immediate assistance in terms of the specifics of their professional responsibility to the community. It became necessary for the director to take a firm hand repeatedly in the procedure lest the interests of the members fall apart and the shop lose its sense of purpose and organic unity.

Early in the second session members began to discover that they entertained a diversity of concerns and desired outcomes in intercultural education. Also they began to exercise more patience with each other and more thoughtfulness in following a direction of procedure that would be more rewarding to all members.

In the first meeting of the workshop it became apparent to the director that two broad types of professional interest were represented. There were those who were almost exclusively concerned with a desire for tested techniques of social action, they wanted to get on with their jobs, to get things done, and to know how. And there were those who desired to pursue the way of painstaking, long-range educational planning with a view to improving human relations in a multiculture community. A representative of the former view remarked with a measure of impatience, "I'm rather fed up with this type of discussion involving further study of the social bases of intergroup conflict. The forces of disintegration, racial and cultural, are so apparent in this city. 'Rome' is burning! What we must do is adopt a forthright program of legislative and industrial action and get it enforced through the proper channels, if we are to avoid more disastrous metropolitan conditions."

Those who felt a responsibility to the younger generation in the schools were unwilling to trust such an approach as the basis for an adequate program. They desired to work out a plan that would help youth understand the adverse situation in which they find themselves, avoid the false assumptions that the older generations continue to make about race, racism, and culture, and acquire social

attitudes and ways of living in harmony with the teachings of science and democracy.

It became necessary for these types of participants to discover the value of each other's viewpoint, and to appreciate the necessity of both approaches in order to secure a fit basis for workshop procedure. It was discovered, for instance, that the school leader and churchman depend strongly on verbal and language vehicles to accomplish the purposes of intercultural education; whereas, the channels through which the police, the social and group worker, the physician, and the industrialist operate are primarily "activity" procedures. That each leader needs the support of every other's services in order to effect the most favorable outcomes in community life little by little became apparent to workshop members. During the third session such clarification was arrived at, which contributed to the more effective use of discussion. It was noticeable repeatedly during the remainder of the meetings how discussion tended to move back and forward between the associated techniques of social action *and* education.

The members were helped as they sensed the increasing measure of social solidarity the group acquired as it moved along from session to session. Several factors contributed to this end: (1) the sheer acuteness of the community problems that brought them together into a workshop; (2) the friendliness of the members who in their own persons represented a diversity of racial, religious, and nationality backgrounds; (3) the open-minded way in which all participants learned to approach the subjects of inquiry; (4) the strength of service of the resource leaders; and (5) the degree of readiness of the members, on the one hand, to allow the teachings of science to dislodge fallacious opinions about race and culture and, on the other, to yield their feelings and scale of values of doubtful soundness in favor of more democratic and humane considerations.

For the last meeting, instead of the seminar atmosphere and the critical method of inquiry that characterized earlier sessions, a

dinner was arranged at the International Institute where informal social intercourse was stimulated by various methods and a program was provided to dramatize the purposes and values that had been accented throughout the project. This was a shift from verbal methods of intercultural education to emphasizing nonverbal procedures, and from a critical to an appreciative approach in cultivating intergroup harmony. This event was open to friends of the workshop group, and thus it exposed the challenge of intercultural education to a large number of interested citizens.

Appraisal

The observations in this evaluation come from several sources. The members, individually and collectively, from time to time pointed out not only advantages but also shortcomings to be rectified if the experiment were repeated. Resource leaders, who met with the director before and after their participation in the workshop, frequently sensed situations calling for careful appraisal. The director's experience in later workshops (he has conducted four others during the winter and spring) has helped him discover elements of weaknesses and strength in the first endeavor that have become more obvious as time and further experimentation have brought them into focus. The stronger features in the project are mentioned first, and the weaker features follow, each appraisal being indicated by a different set of references.

1. The diversity of cultural representations and of professional interests in the personnel of the workshop dramatized some of the issues, the viewpoints, and the desired outcomes that are rooted in the intercultural scene in the metropolitan area of Los Angeles.
2. The achievement of a sense of interdependent concern for community tensions and of mutual responsibility in community planning, and a conviction that they should work together to conserve and enrich the democratic way in race and culture relations, became increasingly evident to the members.

3. The variety of viewpoints, sometimes conflicting and unreconciled with reference to basic issues, which were frequently interjected by resource leaders and members of the workshop was a wholesome experience for all. It discouraged any one from assuming that there were simple and pat answers to highly involved questions. An illustration of this was the differences in the approach to the phenomenon of prejudice of a resource leader who took a psychoanalytic view and a leader who favored a sociological view. One attempted to interpret the attitudes associated with prejudice in terms of "deep" mechanics of personality when caught in social situations that stimulated hurt and resentment in the individual; the other explained such attitudes as social forces that are "caught" by persons who live in an American culture of which prejudice is itself an integral factor. Some members considered that there was probably a measure of soundness in both these viewpoints and that they needed to be related more incisively in interpreting the conditions of person-group and group-group interactions of a conflicting nature.

4. Certain of the members who approached the workshop with a degree of complacency about the soundness of their intercultural attitudes and of their professional views, discovered early in the project that there was no room for cocksureness either in approaching attitudinal and emotional problems (which are the foci of intercultural issues) or ways and means for dealing effectively with them. The scientific temper of the group was strengthened as the sessions moved along. Members discovered that they needed an introduction to anthropology, sociology, and psychology if they were going to channel their services intelligently by the methods of social action or education. And it also became apparent that they needed a critique of democratic values and of American citizenship to serve as a frame of reference for appraisal and reappraisal of intercultural programming.

5. The circulating library proved of much value to the members. They were repeatedly exposed to some of the best materials in related fields of study. For instance, the Myrdal volumes (two sets) were constantly in circulation, as were various other texts, manuals, and brochures. Many participants purchased books they liked, so that they might have them in their offices for reference.

6. The majority of the members restudied their own particular jobs during the workshop with a view to introducing such changes in operation as they believed would enrich their services. That was one of the

basic purposes of the project. These persons sought individual conferences with the director of the workshop at which problems and procedures were discussed. In not a few instances consultants reported later on new outcomes in their reorganized programs. Some individuals wrote out personal documents describing their reactions to the workshop experience. Six members submitted a manuscript, a poem, units of work for the classroom, a syllabus for a faculty seminar, and a comprehensive review of the Myrdal study, respectively, as evidences of the serious efforts they enlisted in the experiment.

7. Few of the personnel approached the subjects treated in the workshop with a scientific orientation. Their pre-service and in-service instruction had scarcely fitted them to think objectively and critically about cultural patterns and the social forces that have produced ethnic tensions in community life. Some who had devoted thought to the issues had learned to think of desirable outcomes in terms of an oversimplified plan of action. For instance, one resource leader claimed that the economic motif was the only significant force contributing to intergroup rivalry and that urgent legislation compelling industry, labor, realtors, and the like to change their ways was the chief need in the community. Another instance was a prevailing opinion among many that a child can be provided with a community program without individualizing him in terms of his culture pattern. Such leaders have not yet learned to regard pupils in school and youth in group work as persons-in-culture, with all the implications these conceptions of personality, culture, and interaction have for an understanding of intercultural problems and for the treatment of them. This general handicap of orientation compelled the director and the resource leaders at times to guide the discussion along oversimplified lines and prevented the group from getting down to more basic questions of inquiry.

8. A few members were not qualified for participation in the procedures of a workshop. They belong to the type of community leaders who suggest by their apathy, "We do not want to think deeply and painfully. Tell us what to do and we will do it!"

9. Because of the wide range of professional interests represented in the members and an element of impatience at times of one type of technician with the expressed concerns of another type of technician, it was impossible to consider carefully the field of techniques of intercultural education. Since methods differ markedly in various fields of community

endeavor, it was possible in this diversified group to do little other than point to procedures and to suggest principles of sound evaluation. The result was that members acquired a fair orientation of problems and a stimulation of democratic insights, but were left without due direction in the area of implementation. They needed further courses to help them apply their experience to their specific jobs.

10. Some of the resource leaders were unaccustomed to serving in this capacity in a workshop. Their contributions were too academic and their language too technical to serve the best interests of the group. In other instances, a few found it difficult to follow the trend of discussion and thus fit in an appropriate contribution to the situation at the moment when they were expected to participate.

Dr. Cole is Director of the Pacific Coast branch of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

A WORKSHOP FOR TEACHERS

Hilda Taba

Workshops were invented to meet problems in education which the usual in-service programs either could not or would not meet. Developed and popularized in connection with the eight-year study and its need for transforming subject-matter specialists into educators of wider concern and competence, they have blossomed as vehicles for developing talent for all sorts of unorthodox demands on education.

In spite of wide variations in practices, the workshop idea contains several common features. Chief among these is the idea that the best diet for educating teachers can be assembled around concrete projects that are of some immediate concern and of practical value in a given school or community. Most workshops expect their participants to come with some practical project. This emphasis has several beneficial effects. It tends to bridge the much-bemoaned gap between theory, factual knowledge, and practice. It does away with mastering ideas in a vacuum and with the cold-storage notion of education. It challenges inventive search for and use of knowledge and puts meaning into an otherwise incoherent melee of educational theories, research data, and tricks of method. Focusing on a problem or a project also develops techniques for attacking new educational problems soundly and reasonably instead of with pat panaceas and gadgets, which should prepare teachers to meet new tasks as they come along.

Parallel to this requirement, and a logical outcome of it, is the related use of knowledge from any area basic to education: psychology, community sociology, curriculum planning, etc. Any educational problem of significance requires a wide range of ideas and facts to ensure its sensible solution. Exploring these ideas first in their relationship to a project and second in their relationship to each other gives them richer meaning as well as greater pertinence.

For this reason, workshops have put consultant specialists at the disposal of students in place of offering fixed courses.

Finally, workshops have taken rather seriously the altogether too neglected task of helping teachers develop a personal philosophy and a coherent pattern of values by which to make judgments about what to emphasize in teaching, what to consider in choices of learning experience, and what is important in the growth of students. Personal reflection upon and expression of ideas is usually encouraged. Questions regarding the "whys" and "wherefores" of learning experiences are frequent. Living experiences to extend sensitivity and insight, such as work in an art studio, visits into the community, shared living with others, are a usual part of the workshop program.

These features make workshops a suitable method for developing leadership in intergroup education. The field is relatively new, and creative inventiveness is needed to develop the needed orientation and techniques. Certainly a deep personal reorientation of teachers is needed if they are to have the objectivity of mind and sensitivity of feeling necessary for dealing with human relations in this field.

The description below represents a summary of the Harvard Workshop in Intergroup Education directed by the writer and Charles E. Cummings. While the experience in this workshop may not be entirely typical, in a general way its problems and procedures should be fairly representative.

Who Came to the Workshop

The twenty-six persons who came to the Harvard workshop varied greatly in every conceivable respect: ethnic background, religious affiliation, geographic location, experience, background, and maturity. They came from fourteen different States all across the country from East to West. In educational experience there was a wide range but a high average. They represented all levels from the elementary school through college and adult education. Their

experience with intercultural education varied from almost none to many years of responsible work both in school and with adults in the community. Some were completely innocent of the nature of the problems in intergroup relations, such as those who thought they had no problems because they had complete segregation, or because their town had not had riots. Others had a general familiarity with the field and needed specialized and advanced analysis of some special phase such as the psychology of prejudice or the concept of cultural learning. Some lacked even the elementary understanding of educational techniques needed for this job; others were ready to explore subtler procedures necessary for developing such aspects as changing social attitudes and cultural habits, for developing scientific thinking about group relations, and for planning tactics for eliciting community cooperation.

To learn more about the participants as well as to help them to articulate a plan of attack, the first four days were spent in group sessions and individual conferences devoted to description, analysis, and criticism of the tentative projects with which the students came. Each participant described his respective community and school situation, told what he intended to work on, and how he planned his attack.

These sessions revealed a diversity of common and individual needs. It was clear, for example, that a general sensitivity to problems in this area and a concern about them far surpassed the quality of the intellectual framework with which to analyze or comprehend the issues involved and the maturity of psychological and educational techniques with which to handle these problems or with which to translate them into an educational program. Clearly, they needed to learn about the various techniques which might be analyzed under varying conditions, for there was a marked tendency for most of the group to assume that *the* two techniques to consider were providing information and starting a discussion.

As the weeks passed, the staff found confirmation of their early

impression: that a great many of the group found it difficult to relate their practice with their theory. Their practical human and classroom work was undoubtedly intelligent and good, and their ideals and theories were increasingly fluent and sensible, but there seemed to be a strong tendency to keep these levels or gears quite separate, and they had great difficulty in working out the logical relations between them.

This condition had its advantages and disadvantages. The variation in background and experience was stimulating and the exchange of these during the first week proved to be most valuable education for staff and students alike. On the other hand, the discrepancy between the maturity in social insights and mastery of educational tools and techniques to apply them provided the staff with one of the most perplexing problems. In planning the program, for example, the desire for further study of the intergroup relations was continually at war with the obvious but far less exciting need to develop the means by which the understanding of these relations could be adequately communicated.

How We Worked

The participants came to the workshop with two sorts of objectives: to learn more about intergroup relations and intergroup education in general, and to do some specific job, such as preparing a unit on Negro employment or planning a program of guidance for Spanish-speaking students. In planning work, these two objectives as well as the diversity of the group had to be kept constantly in mind.

It seemed clear that work of several levels was needed. All students needed further orientation in the psychology, sociology, and anthropology of group relations. The concept of cultural behavior as a learned behavior was accepted in general but not understood specifically. Prejudice, bias, and discrimination were wholeheartedly condemned, but their manifestations in specific instances were

not always recognized. The idea that the economic and social status of minority groups was related to the ways in which the members of these groups beheld themselves and were labeled by others was new to most of them. In spite of sincere respect for scientific and objective thinking, there was a sad deficiency in the capacity to do so, let alone to teach it. Awareness of pressing problems in the community was keen, but few knew how to analyze the patterns of group relations in a given community. All students could profit from a more intimate understanding of the mores of various culture groups, both dominant and minority.

An attempt was made to meet these common needs through general meetings, at which both staff and invited consultants gave talks and conducted discussions. Altogether fourteen such consultants were invited. Such topics as: methods of analyzing the community, anthropological analysis of cultural relations, the concept of culture and cultural behavior as learned behavior, psychology of social attitudes and prejudices, and how they are learned and unlearned, the problems of the Negro, anti-Semitism, etc., were discussed. Since these meetings served mainly for stimulation, they relied rather heavily on presentation, alternating, when possible, with discussion sessions, and were supported by reading assignments.

Another marked need was that of developing educational tools and techniques appropriate to the teaching tasks in this field. The prevailing educational tool chest in this field consists mainly of units on contributions of various culture groups and of programs presenting folk dances, art, and poetry of minority groups. The focal task in this area lies in changing attitudes, feelings, prejudice, and automatic habits of behavior. Biases, prejudices, and discriminations are intimately allied with unconscious fears, anxieties, and feelings of insecurity—all aspects of behavior resisting change most stubbornly. To reach them at all, educational techniques must be far superior to those which have been usually employed in what we

call democratic education or education for citizenship. Hence, it is not too much to say that educational techniques for the improvement of intergroup relations must be much better education than that which is usually employed in schools.

To give participants a chance to explore and to practise the educational techniques, several work groups (curriculum, guidance, community, teacher education, evaluation) were conducted. These were planned around the common features of the individual projects and combined individual work with a group discussion of such common points as were necessary for the development of the projects, or practice in intellectual and professional skills. Thus the curriculum group explored ways and means of taking stock of the needs of the community and of the students in order to determine what was most significant to teach, and which objectives seemed most relevant to emphasize. They practised analyzing and clarifying the objectives and examining the relationship between these objectives and learning experiences. The criteria by which to select the more pertinent and significant ideas and information for teaching were charted.

Each of these problems and methods of examining them was first opened up by the leader, then followed up by group discussion and individual work on projects. For example, in connection with clarifying objectives, useful ways of doing it were described first. Illustrative statements of objectives were then analyzed by the group. Following that, each person made an effort to state his own objectives, and these statements were again criticized by the whole group.

Similar procedures were used in the other work groups. Thus, for example, the guidance group explored the principles necessary for understanding young people's behavior in general and that of the minority groups specifically. Methods of studying and interpreting the behavior of the members of the minority groups were examined. Members analyzed case studies and attempted descrip-

tive case studies of their own. Some attention was also devoted to planning homeroom or group guidance in typical public-school situations

A third important and all-permeating task was that of changing the personal attitudes of the participants. Even the most sophisticated of us have hidden prejudices, numerous misconceptions, and automatic habits of thought and action that imply intolerance and discrimination. Habitually we speak of "low I Q groups," of the "honest-to-goodness Americans." In spite of most fervent protestations on dignity and rights of the individual, we convey disrespect with a shrug of the shoulders or tone of voice. It is shocking for most people to subject themselves to an objective examination on this score and a direct attack on these attitudes is even dangerous. All the possibilities of group living, daily experiences and contacts, social activities, trips, visitors, and consultants have to be exploited to this end.

Four days of group sessions, at which each person spoke freely of his own experiences, served as an initial awakener for self-scrutiny. In the beginning, these individual stories were studded with unconscious patronizing, with drawing of lines on an irrelevant basis. As the contrasting and varying personal awarenesses succeeded each other, all members gained in awareness as well as objectivity.

Individual conferences with advisers carried a large share of helping to clear out hesitations, inconsistencies of general belief and specific application, and personal feelings. Planned as they were for help on projects, they provided an opportunity to talk over, in a more or less objective context, personal feelings and strains that had been evoked either by the job on the project, by the intensity of life in the workshop, by a rapid development of new associations, or by considerable exposure to new standards and personalities. Individual advice and help were needed to turn these feelings into constructive channels.

The greatest influence for personal reorientation, however, was the "bull sessions" and the social occasions in which the participants of varying races, religious, and ethnic backgrounds had a chance to share ideas, experiences, and fun. In bull sessions following experiences shared in common—such as seeing the same movie, reading the same books—reactions could be matched. Partaking of common fun and relaxation—dinners and lunches with visitors, parties with singing and stories—served to throw habitual personal reactions into question and to initiate new ones.

To the extent that this community living can be made really communal, and to the extent that the participation in the workshop itself represents a cross section of cultural groups—to that extent this part of the workshop can be made an irreplaceable learning experience.

General Problems and Appraisal

Because of its multiple and divergent tasks as well as the heterogeneity of backgrounds and interests it tries to serve, a workshop situation continually requires balancing of conflicting procedures. The experiences designed for stimulation, such as the array of consultants, trips, lectures, constituted a continual threat to continuity of work necessary for the development of intellectual concepts and professional skills. The demands of individual work on projects and the many attractions, such as visits, movies, meetings, were continually at war with each other. It was difficult to plan the topics for general meetings in terms of psychological continuity because their sequence depended largely upon the availability of consultants.

In discussions it is difficult to keep a balance between exciting concrete details for which every one is eager and the generalizations, concepts, and basic orientation. Constantly details aroused more and more questions and tended to carry the discussion into far corners. Participants were also more eager to relate vivid personal

experiences anecdotically than they were to analyze general points, leading ideas, and assumptions. Both have their value. Details generate feeling and enthusiasm and stimulate imagination. Generalizations make sound thinking possible. The real task of the leader of discussion is to keep both in proper balance. A definite time must be reserved for summary and generalization, and the tendency toward the anecdotal must be checked.

There was a continuous dilemma about the relative emphasis to be put on the study of intercultural relations as such and on the educational aspects. Both were equally needed, yet neither could be well done without the other. This dilemma was only partly resolved by devoting most of the group work to the development of the basic concepts with which to interpret ideas in this field and to the exploration of the educational techniques. This was done on the assumption that the familiarity with the history and the problems of various minority groups could be easily enough acquired through reading and without guidance.

Balancing the intake of information and ideas with application, creative thinking, planning, and production was another problem. To most people, the easiest way of getting an education is to absorb it passively from books and lectures. When information and ideas are presented by visitors, often of a colorful and strong personality, passive absorption becomes increasingly tempting.

However, it was evident that the more humble footwork on productive work involving application of general ideas, and a painstaking translation of them into learning experiences, was a *sine qua non* for constructive thinking as well as a guarantee that the workshop experience go beyond personal stimulation and general enlightenment and affect classroom situations. It was clear also that the value of this production lay not in the product but in the intellectual discipline involved in producing.

It is scarcely a trick at all to satisfy the participants in a workshop situation. No matter what discouragements or discomforts they

may have had in the process, these are overbalanced with a feeling of real accomplishment and personal uplift. Appraising the long-term effects is another matter. The follow-up indicated many casualties among the projects. In many cases they had gone beyond what the immediate practical situation permitted. In other cases the techniques of classroom instruction were not worked out in sufficient detail to permit unqualified success. However, the majority of participants apparently were inoculated with a new orientation to problems of teaching and a lasting concern for intergroup education. Whether or not they could implement the particular thing they worked on, most participants found some means of exercising leadership in their respective situations.

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AFTER WORKSHOP—WHAT?

Marion Edman

The workshop experience should certainly be itself a tremendously stimulating and vitalizing experience for those interested in intercultural education. If the group has done what Margaret Mead describes as "capitalizing on its own diversities" (granted that the group is made up of persons of diverse national, racial, and specialized backgrounds) there will have been many opportunities for emotional growth and the development of intellectual insights which enrich the personalities of those participating. This diversity is best used in a pattern of social living which workshops are able to implement where proper dormitory and working facilities are provided. Contacts with books and other learning aids, explorations into the community, inspiration gathered from leaders in the field—all these should have contributed further to the growth and understanding of those associated with the workshop group.

These types of opportunities have been presented in some detail by other writers for this JOURNAL. The prime purpose of this article is to attempt to describe what workshop participants should take with them from the workshop experience—particularly what *teachers* need to know and need to be prepared to do if they are to make maximum use of the opportunities they have enjoyed in being part of a workshop group. The enumeration below is a brief presentation of some values which the writer believes are of paramount importance.

1. *Understanding the basic philosophy of intercultural education and being familiar with specific materials and techniques.* A considerable proportion of the persons enrolling in workshops are convinced before they come of the need and value of this type of education. Usually, however, their good will is vague and inarticulate. Through workshop experience, they should become reasonably clear in their own minds about what a program in intercul-

tural education should accomplish and toward what ends it should be directed. In addition, however, to understanding the basic philosophy each teacher coming from a workshop should have command of some specific materials and techniques that will enable her to begin work as soon as she returns to her classroom. To know objectives but to have no handles for taking hold in one's own situation can lead only to frustration, and usually brings about no change in the children under the teacher's guidance.

2. *The development of a "tempered" attitude concerning the role of intercultural education in the total pattern of educational endeavor.* There is a danger that workshop students living in what may be a tropical atmosphere of extreme good will and exuberant enthusiasm may become somewhat unfitted for the cold winds of reality which face the average teacher. The workshop leader may need to remind his students of the "moral" behind the tale concerning the business executive who asked his stenographer to put zone numbers on all his letters, and she responded by writing carefully in the left-hand corner of each piece of mail "Temperate Zone." The temperate zone in the workshop can best be maintained perhaps by taking care that the participants in the intercultural workshop are not permitted to live and work in too great isolation on a campus, but that they constantly mingle and exchange ideas with other students who are somewhat cold to the ideas and the experiences which the workshop students in intercultural education are developing.

The tempered attitude can also be developed by helping workshop people to see intercultural education in relationship to all educational endeavor. This perspective will help prevent the development of rabid enthusiasm for it as a panacea for all and every problem in education. Such enthusiasm often repels rather than attracts the uninitiated teachers with whom the workshop participant will be associated in her regular classroom activities

3. *Preparation of an approach for orienting the administration of*

the school to the values of intercultural education. At least some of the workshop participants go back to work in schools where the administration is indifferent or even hostile to the introduction of the ideas and techniques which are developed through the workshop experience. Teachers must be prepared to face such situations, for it is fairly evident that any teacher who carries on surreptitiously or without the support of the administration soon meets enough opposition or indifference to dampen her enthusiasm to the point where she is willing to drop all effort to change her pupils' thinking and conduct in regard to minority groups.

The workshop participant should be prepared, upon leaving that experience, to present in logical and convincing fashion the ways in which an administrator might improve his school through greater and continued emphasis on intercultural education. The proper organization of the concepts suggested under point 1 above should be of help in meeting this requirement. Other approaches should be discussed in the workshop; such as, ways to go about forming school committees, discussions at faculty meetings, etc., which will give specific leads to the principal in cooperating in the plan for organizing the school for action.

4. *Preparation of materials and helps for the use of other teachers in one's school.* To make the teacher who attends the workshop a leaven in her school should be one of the prime objectives of the leader. Attendance at intercultural education workshops has, up to the present time, been rather small and very few teachers have been reached directly through this means. To reach the great masses of teachers the methods used in the great literacy campaigns which have been going on in several parts of the world recently, where as soon as one is taught to read, he in turn teaches another, must be used to sensitize teachers to the great urgency for intercultural education in schools.

All the materials accumulated by the workshop participant should be arranged so that they are usable by other teachers and

then placed in the school where they are easily accessible. Free materials (of which many are available from reputable organizations) should be ordered in quantity so that each teacher may avail herself of these helps. The "workshop" teacher should also be made aware of sources of such materials, urged to keep constant check on what new things come out, and to keep a supply of them on hand so that teachers may have easy access to them.

Each participant should condense his workshop experiences into a kind of "short course" by which to highlight the chief values of such learning for teachers who have not been in attendance. The criticism has been made of teachers returning from workshop experiences that their discussions of those experiences have not been pointed enough. They fall into the error of digressing into too many diffuse details, of describing situations which have no significance or meaning for fellow teachers "back home." They might be helped to make better presentations if time is taken at the end of the workshop term for working out cooperatively a summary and an evaluation of the term's work. This report should be mimeographed and in the hands of each participant before she returns to her school-room in the fall.

5. *The development of curriculum materials suited to the teacher's particular classroom.* Among the workshop leaders who met at the conference at Montclair Teachers College in the winter of 1945 there was considerable disagreement on this point. Some leaders contended that it was not important whether curricular materials were prepared, others felt that it was extremely important that specific materials be worked out while the participants were under the guidance of the leader and had at hand the resources of the workshop. Perhaps if a broad view be taken of the term *curricular materials* there will be much greater agreement on this point than is sometimes evident.

By the development of curricular material, if the term be broadly interpreted, may be meant the preparation of a specific unit suited

to a specific grade level in a specific subject field; or it may mean ways in which topics touching intercultural education may be integrated into our entire course of study; or the development of a specific course; or the analysis of suitable materials for children now in print; or the writing of source materials not now available for children; or the preparation of bibliographies of source materials (general or specific); or setting up criteria for the analysis of specific school situations; or developing means and methods for evaluation of school living; or several other specific things. There is an almost infinite variety of concrete work which needs to be done if a program of intercultural education is to be furthered in a school, and the important point, it would seem, is that teachers make use of the time, the resources, and the leadership offered by the workshop to do something specific in developing a program of instruction in their schools. Having teachers of good will and the proper point of view is absolutely essential to the development of the proper attitudes and conduct in children, but it is not enough. Instructional materials and techniques are the avenues through which such good will can be constructively directed.

The development of good instructional materials, furthermore, offers tangible evidence to administrators and to other teachers concerning the merits and the methods of intercultural education and gives a basis for encouraging others to begin such activity by demonstrating at least one way in which such instruction is translated into everyday classroom teaching.

If it is possible to have the curricular materials developed by the various persons in the workshop mimeographed and distributed to all members of the group, the specific helps which each teacher takes with her from the workshop are greatly multiplied, and she has a variety of materials and techniques and approaches to suggest to her coworkers which will help stimulate them to independent activity.

6. *Understanding new approaches to teaching.* Those teachers

who seem to have the truest understanding of what intercultural education means interpret it as a way of life in the classroom as well as the introduction of new ideas and techniques to children. These teachers have developed fuller understandings of what fear, frustration, and lack of belongingness do to children of both minority or majority groups. They have clear concepts of what teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil relationships must be if there is to be the true spirit of democratic living in the classroom which should be a mirror of the larger ideal in society. The workshop should demonstrate, as well as discuss, what good human relationships in a classroom should be. If there is opportunity to observe children in a demonstration school which exemplifies good pupil-pupil and teacher-pupil relationships, it is well worth taking the time to watch and to discuss the techniques that are used to bring about and to foster such relationships, even though the children may not be particularly concerned, at the time of observation, with topics pertaining specifically to intercultural education.

7. *An awareness of community resources.* In his zeal to make the workshop experience vital to his students, the leader may supply a richness of opportunity for community contacts which may be only confusing and frustrating to the teacher who works in a school where the opportunities for using many and varied community resources are entirely lacking. She sees great possibilities for intercultural education in New York where one may visit Chinatown, call upon a great Polish scientist for lectures, visit churches of every variety and kind, take part in a festival of nations, and so on and so on for many types and kinds of contact. What to do in Lesterfield, a town of five thousand people of the Midwestern prairies with few foreign born, no persons of racial minorities, and five Protestant churches of various denominations, presents what seems an entirely different and baffling situation.

Time must be spent in workshop sessions to relate the kinds of experiences one may have in a large metropolitan area (where

workshops are often located) to the specific situations which obtain in the communities where these teachers work. Criteria must be developed whereby teachers can use to best advantage those resources that these communities furnish. Merely to proceed on the assumption that if the community resources used by the workshop are rich and varied enough teachers will be stimulated to use the resources of their own communities effectively is not sound. A part of the responsibility of the workshop leader is to guide teachers in recognizing and in understanding how to use the community helps which they have at hand in their own school situations.

8. *Stimulation for working with community groups interested in intercultural education.* The workshop should give teachers a feeling of association with the many forces in the community which undergird and reinforce the program of the schools in promoting intercultural understanding. Some of these organizations are national and supply materials and leadership for the program; others are national with local chapters or groups that help mold public opinion in the individual community; others are strictly local. The teacher should know these organizations, their programs, and their leadership and, wherever it is possible for her to do so, should furnish an integrating link between the community program which they foster and the school's program. She can do this by keeping informed about what is happening in the community, by participating in committee work of various sorts, and by having information ready to give about the work in the school to interested members of the community.

Participation in the work of community groups has a distinct personal advantage for the teacher as well as being a professional obligation. It is a means of prolonging workshop experiences, for in the contacts and in the activities involved in working with such community groups she is constantly gaining the new insights and developing the emotional maturity which are absolutely essential for continuing growth. The stimulation thus provided should prove

an extension of the benefits gained in the workshop, for, after all, any community is a truly significant workshop for the development of the American ideal.

The workshop leader, then, must definitely think beyond the immediate experiences through which participants enrich and broaden themselves as human beings. It is granted that this aspect of the workshop has great importance, but for their work as teachers the workshop leader must constantly evaluate with the participants these experiences in terms of their effectiveness in helping teachers to work with administrators, other teachers, their pupils, the community. In the leader's mind must be the constantly recurring question: "*After* workshop—what?"

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1945 SUMMER WORKSHOPS IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION

Herbert L. Seamans

The first workshop in intergroup education was held at the Colorado State College of Education during the summer of 1941. It was initiated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and was cosponsored by the National Conference and the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

In 1942 a workshop was conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University, in addition to the one at the Colorado State College of Education. In 1943 and 1944, workshops occurred at Columbia and Harvard Universities, the Colorado workshop having been temporarily discontinued. All were cosponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

The number of workshops for teachers to be held during the summer of 1945 indicates a rapid spread of interest in intergroup education. For the first time workshops are so located and planned as to serve certain regional areas or to provide intensive study of human relations. This marks a first step in the direction of a national workshop program which will enable those just beginning in the field of intergroup education as well as those ready for advanced studies to enroll where their interests may be served best. There is sufficient experience in intergroup workshops now to indicate the wisdom of such a national plan.

No attempt has been made here to list all workshops related in some way to intergroup relations. Those listed are designed primarily for teachers and will emphasize mainly educational materials and methods. In most cases, however, leaders of community agencies will be encouraged to enroll so as to provide a balance of school and community factors and interests.

Each workshop is an integral part of the respective university or

college summer session. The institution is responsible, therefore, for academic standards, faculty appointments, and admissions policy. The National Conference of Christians and Jews assists in securing enrollment, scholarship aid to qualified teachers, and provides literature and consultative services. The Bureau for Intercultural Education cooperates likewise but does not offer scholarship aid.

A workshop at the University of Chicago, conducted by Dr. Hilda Taba, will be held June 25 to August 4. It is of a specialized nature and primarily for groups of teachers who have been working with her during the winter and spring of 1945 in the cities of Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and South Bend. In each city the board of education has invited Dr. Taba's cooperation in the development of a program of intergroup education adapted to local needs. This is a three-year program under the auspices of the American Council on Education with the assistance of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

In addition to teachers from these school systems, there will be provision for fifteen teachers from other cities of the nation who wish to work intensively on educational procedures and individual projects. In addition to curriculum and instruction, attention will be given to methods of studying community relations, to the understanding of the behavior and adjustment problems of individuals with various ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds, and to ways of using fiction and bibliography for extending human understanding.

Of special interest is the workshop in human relations occurring at the University of Chicago July 16 to August 25 to be led by Professors Robert Havighurst and Allison Davis of the university faculty. It is a project of the Department of Education and the Committee on Human Development of the university subsidized by the Chicago Regional Office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This group is limited to a maximum of twelve and is designed to provide opportunity for intensive work in the anthro-

pology, sociology, and psychology of intergroup relations. It is designed for leaders in need of theoretical training and is less concerned with educational method than the other workshops.

Another special-interest workshop is to be held at Vassar College, July 11 to August 8 with the family and community living as the main concern. Dr. Sterling Brown, staff member of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, will conduct it. It is open to parents who may bring children, and teachers and community leaders. Those enrolling will live on the campus and participate in group life as an educational experience under most favorable circumstances.

All of the workshops immediately below are planned to provide

<i>University or College and City</i>	<i>Leader</i>	<i>Dates</i>
University of California Berkeley, California	Henry W. Cook	July 2-August 10
University of Denver Denver, Colorado	Bertha Richardson	June 18-July 20
Eau Claire State Teachers College Eau Claire, Wisconsin	Roland B. Edgerton	June 11-July 19
Goddard College Plainfield, Vermont	H. H. Giles	July 5-August 16
Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts	Howard E. Wilson	July 2-August 10
Milwaukee State Teachers College Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Mrs. Collerohe Krassovsky	June 25-August 17
University of Minnesota Minneapolis, Minnesota	Theodore Brameld	July 30-September 1
Oregon System of Higher Education Portland, Oregon	Olive Horrigan	June 18-July 27
Stanford University Stanford University, California	Stewart G. Cole I. James Quillan	July 2-August 10
Syracuse University Syracuse, New York	Mildred Chaplin	July 2-August 11
University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin	R. Freeman Butts	June 23-August 17

The Harvard workshop will be a section of the social-studies workshop. The workshop at the University of California will deal with both intergroup and international relations.

opportunity for teachers on any age level and in any subject, as well as administrators and principals who wish to become better acquainted with the scientific data, teaching aids and procedures related to intergroup education. Opportunity will be provided also to work on units of instruction or special problems as each person elects. In a sense these are orientation workshops.

In addition to the leader of each workshop, consultants from various fields will meet with the groups. The social psychologist, the anthropologist, the teacher of English, specialists in group relations and community analysis, and religious leaders will be available to assist on particular interests and problems. Each member of all workshops will develop some project of particular interest and value to his or her continuing activities.

With the possible exception of the workshops in the teachers' colleges of Wisconsin and at Goddard College the work will be on the graduate level, provision having been made in each case for credit toward a graduate degree if so desired.

Mr. Seannans is Director of the Commission on Educational Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

INDEX

- Adams, Jessie Clayton A Texas Teen-Age Center, 402.
- Adolescent Adjustment, The Influence of the Broken Home on By Paul Torrance, 359
- Adult Education in China, Recent Trends of By Chao Pu-hsia, 11
- Anti Semitism By Nathan Reich, 294
- Area Projects in Cleveland By Mildred H Esgar, 425
- Basque Thought at the Present Moment By José Antonio de Aguirre, 491
- Bender, Lauretta The Psychology of Children's Reading and the Comics, 223.
- Berkson, Isaac B Jewish Palestine in the Postwar World, 287.
- Bevis, Howard L College and the Demobilized Student, 81
- Blumenfield, Samuel M Jewish Education in the Postwar World, 262
- Boardman, Walter S A Corporation as a Means of Serving Youth Interests, 407
- Book Reviews, 55, 189, 256, 379, 512
- Chamberlin, J Gordon The Church and Demobilization Planning, 123
- Chapman, Stanley H Church Schools, 340
- Children in 1900, A Small City's By Morris Steggerda, 39
- Children's Reading and the Comics, The Psychology of By Lauretta Bender, 223
- Church Schools By Stanley H Chapman, 340
- Classroom Communiques By Conwell Dean Higgins, 373
- Cole, Stewart E A Workshop for Urban Community Leadership, 542
- Comic Book, The First By Hayden Weller, 195
- Comics and Instructional Method, The By W W D Sones, 232
- Comics as a Social Force, The By Sidonic Matsner Gruenberg, 204
- Comics as an Educational Medium, The Special issue, December, 193-256
- Comics—There They Stand, The By Harvey Zorbaugh, 196
- Comics? What's in the. By Josette Frank, 214
- Community Coordination, Some Principles Underlying By Frederic M Thrasher, 387
- Community Leadership, A Workshop for Urban By Stewart E Cole, 542
- Condit, Abbie A Bibliography of Articles and Publications of the National Recreation Association on Teen-Age Canteens and Youth Councils, 410
- Counseling for the War Veteran, College By J Richard Toven, 331
- Counseling Students in the Postwar College By E G Williamson, 87.
- Czechoslovak Tradition and German Imperialism By Jan Munzer, 467
- Davis, Allison, and Havighurst, Robert J Human Development and Intergroup Education, 535
- De Aguirre, José Antonio Basque Thought at the Present Moment, 491
- Delinquency, New York State's Program for Preventing By Ralph B Spence, 439
- Delinquency Prevention, California's Program for By Heman G Stark, 435
- Demobilization Comes, As Special issue, October, 65-128
- Demobilization Planning, The Church and By J Gordon Chamberlin, 123
- Demobilized Student, College and the. By Howard L Bevis, 81
- Dent, H C Education and the New Outlook, 506
- Dushkin, Alexander M The Role of American Jews in Postwar Reconstruction, 260
- Editorials, 1, 129, 193, 257, 321, 385, 449
- Edman, Marion After Workshop—What? 561
- Education and the New Outlook By H. C Dent, 506
- Education, The Ends of By Sidney Hook, 173
- Education, The Right and Left Wings in By Constance Warren, 163
- Educational Federation in Scandinavian Countries By Reinhold Scharer, 502
- Elementary School Looks at its Critics, The By George A Retan, 351.

- Esgar, Mildred II Area Projects in Cleveland, 425
- Europe, Ideologies and the Coming By Felix Gross, 450.
- European Nationalist Groups, Philosophies Underlying Special issue, April, 449-512.
- Foerster, Friedrich W Some Statements in Regard to German Political Re-education, 497
- Four Freedoms a Reality, Making the By Mabel Wilson Smart, 29
- France' Resistance and Humanism, In. By Paul Vignaux, 454
- Frank, Josette What's in the Comics? 214
- Freel, Eugene L. Soundly Sleep the Seven Sleepers on the Severn, 157
- Gaster, Theodor H Foundations of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, 267
- German Political Re-education, Some Statements in Regard to. By Friedrich W Foerster, 497.
- Giles, H. H Intergroup Education Workshops and School Problems, 522
- Gordis, Robert The Role of Judaism in the Postwar World, 278.
- Gray, Carl A Connecticut's Postwar Re-employment Program, 106
- Greece, Laocracy versus Conservatism in. By Basil John Vliavianos, 457.
- Griffith, Col Paul H Selective Service and the Returning Veteran, 102
- Gross, Felix Ideologies and the Coming Europe, 450.
- Group Living as a Part of Intergroup Education Workshops By Margaret Mead, 526.
- Gruenberg, Sidonie Matsner, The Comics as a Social Force, 204.
- Handicapped Workers, Utilizing. By H. A. Vonachen, 117
- Havighurst, Robert J., and Davis, Allison Human Development and Intergroup Education, 535
- Higgins, Conwell Dean Classroom Communiques, 373
- Hines, Brig Gen Frank T. Education and Rehabilitation of Returning Veterans with Special Reference to the Provisions of Public Laws 16 and 346, 73
- Hoffman, Paul G Wanted: Seven to Ten Million New Postwar Jobs, 67
- Hook, Sidney The Ends of Education, 173
- Human Development and Intergroup Education By Allison Davis and Robert J Havighurst, 535.
- Hungary, A Crucial Country. By Emil Lengyel, 486.
- Intergroup Education, 1945 Summer Workshops in By Herbert L. Seamans, 569
- Intergroup Education, Facing the Need for By Julius E. Warren, 513
- Intergroup Education Workshops and School Problems By H. H. Giles, 522.
- Intergroup Education, Workshops in. Special issue, May, 513-576
- International Bill of Rights, Problems of Minorities Regarding an By Simon Segal, 302
- Italy, Ideological and Philosophical Trends in By Luigi Sturzo, 473
- Japanese-Americans—A Progress Report, Relocating the By Cecil Morgan, 323
- Jew in the Postwar World, The Special issue, January, 257-320
- Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, Foundations of By Theodor H Gaster, 267.
- Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, Problems of. By Arie Tartakower, 271
- Jewish Education in the Postwar World By Samuel M. Blumenfeld, 262.
- Jewish Student Activity in the University By Lorraine Nadelman and Sarah Shulman, 310
- Jews in Postwar Reconstruction, The Role of American By Alexander M. Dushkin, 260
- Jostyn, Jay The Manhasset Youth Council, 417
- Juvenile Delinquency and Social Class By William C. Kvaraceus, 51
- Kagey, Rudolf Metaphysics and Mr. Hutchins, 185
- Kersey, Vierling City Schools Face Problems of Postwar Education, 96
- Kirkpatrick, Forrest H. Human Factors in Reconversion, 365.

- Kridl, Manfred Present Ideological Trends in Poland, 480
- Kross, Hon Anna M National Youth Conservation—A Positive Approach to Youth Needs, 444
- Kvaraceus, William C Juvenile Delinquency and Social Class, 51
- Lengyel, Emil A Crucial Country—Hungary, 486
- Liberal Education—Quo Vadis? By Matthew J Whitehead, 146
- Manhasset Youth Council, The By Jay Jostyn, 417
- Mead, Margaret. Group Living as a Part of Intergroup Education Workshops, 526
- Mendizabal, Alfredo The Ideological Background of Future Spain, 461
- Metaphysics and Mr Hutchins By Rudolf Kagey, 185
- Morgan, Cecil. Relocating the Japanese-Americans—A Progress Report, 323.
- Munzer, Jan Czechoslovak Tradition and German Imperialism, 467
- Murphy, Christal M A California Community Coordinates and Expands Its Recreational Program, 412.
- Nadelman, Lorraine, and Shulman, Sarah Jewish Student Activity in the University, 310
- Norwegian Students Fight the War By Kurt D Singer, 22
- Out of This World By George E. Salt, 132
- Palestine in the Postwar World, Jewish By Isaac B Berkson, 287
- Personality Type, An Approach to the Cultural By Asahel D Woodruff, 45
- Poland, Present Ideological Trends in By Manfred Kridl, 480
- Postwar Americans, Education of By George Stefansky, 4
- Postwar Education, City Schools Face Problems of. By Vierling Kersey, 96
- Postwar Jobs, Wanted Seven to Ten Million New By Paul G Hoffman, 67
- Postwar Re-employment Program, Connecticut's By Carl A Gray, 106
- Postwar World, The Role of Judaism. By Robert Gordis, 278
- Pu-hsia, Chao Recent Trends of Adult Education in China, 11
- Reconversion, Human Factors in By Porrest H Kirkpatrick, 365.
- Recreational Program, A California Community Coordinates and Expands Its By Christal M Murphy, 412.
- Reich, Nathan Anti-Semitism, 294
- Retan, George A The Elementary School Looks at Its Critics, 351.
- St John's College A Critical Appraisal Special issue, November, 129-192.
- Salt, George E Out of This World, 132.
- Scharrer, Reinhold. Educational Federation in Scandinavian Countries, 502.
- Schott, Nancy Jane Youth Activities, Incorporated, Altoona, Pa, 404
- Seamans, Herbert L 1945 Summer Workshops in Intergroup Education, 569.
- Segal, Simon, Problems of Minorities Regarding an International Bill of Rights, 302
- Selby, C. D Job Placement for War Veterans, 112
- Shulman, Sarah, and Nadelman, Lorraine. Jewish Student Activity in the University, 310.
- Singer, Kurt D. Norwegian Students Fight the War, 22
- Smart, Mabel Wilson Making the Four Freedoms a Reality, 29
- Sones, W W D The Comics and Instructional Method, 232
- Soundly Sleep the Seven Sleepers on the Severn By Eugene L Freel, 157.
- Spain, The Ideological Background of Future By Alfredo Mendizabal, 461
- Spence, Ralph B New York State's Program for Preventing Delinquency, 439.
- Stark, Herman G. California's Program for Delinquency Prevention, 435
- Stefansky, George Education of Postwar Americans, 4
- Steggerda, Morris A Small City's Children in 1900, 39.
- Sturzo, Luigi Ideological and Philosophical Trends in Italy, 473.

- Taba, Hilda A Workshop for Teachers, 551
- Tartakower, Arich Problems of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction in Europe, 271
- Teachers, A Workshop for. By Hilda Taba, 551
- Teen-Age Canteens and Youth Councils, A Bibliography of Articles and Publications of the National Recreation Association on. By Abbie Condit, 410
- Teen-Age Center, A Texas. By Jessie Clayton Adams, 402
- Thrasher, Frederic M. Some Principles Underlying Community Coordination, 387.
- Torrance, Paul The Influence of the Broken Home on Adolescent Adjustment, 359.
- Toven, J. Richard College Counseling for the War Veteran, 331
- Veteran, Selective Service and the Returning. By Col. Paul H. Griffith, 102
- Veterans, Job Placement for War. By C. D. Selby, 112
- Veterans with Special Reference to the Provisions of Public Laws 16 and 346, Education and Rehabilitation of Returning. By Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, 73
- Vignaux, Paul In France Resistance and Humanism, 454.
- Visual Aids in the Army, Some Uses of. By Major Paul A. Witty, 241.
- Vlavianos, Basil John Laocracy versus Conservatism in Greece, 457
- Vonachen, H. A Utilizing Handicapped Workers, 117
- Warren, Constance The Right and Left Wings in Education, 163
- Warren, Julius E. Facing the Need for Inter-group Education, 513
- Weller, Hayden, The First Comic Book, 195
- Whitehead, Matthew J. Liberal Education—Quo Vadis? 146
- Williamson, E. G. Counseling Students in the Postwar College, 87
- Witty, Major Paul A. Some Uses of Visual Aids in the Army, 241
- Woodruff, Asabel D. An Approach to the Cultural Personality Type, 45
- Workshop—What? After. By Marion Edman, 561.
- Youth Activities, Incorporated, Altoona, Pa. By Nancy Jane Schott, 404.
- Youth Conservation—A Positive Approach to Youth Needs, National. By Hon. Anna M. Kross, 444
- Youth Interests, A Corporation as a Means of Serving. By Walter S. Boardman, 407
- Youth Service, Coordination for Special issue, March, 385-448
- Zorbaugh, Harvey The Comics—There They Stand! 196

